The Library

Fourth Series
Vol. IV. No. 4

1 March 1924

EARLY DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIBRARY OF MERTON COLLEGE [1]

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THE Merton Library is fortunate enough to possess a number of early documents connected with its own history and administration; which when brought together throw light on such questions as what men read in the Middle Ages, what were the studies of the University, and what was the attitude of our predecessors towards books and libraries.

Even at the present day when books abound and advertisement is free to mislead, it is possible to disentangle from the mass of circumambient material some idea of what books from time to time capture the attention of the public, and what live on to be the delights or the instruments of succeeding generations. But if we start putting the clock back, the inquiry quickly ceases to be hampered by excess of detail. As we approach the early days of printing, the field steadily contracts; and then as we recede through the centuries when all books were manuscript, our vision grows dimmer and dimmer, until at length knowledge becomes nothing more than a blur, and finally the blur becomes a blank.

[1] Read before the Bibliographical Society, 17 December 1923, and illustrated with a collection of fragments of manuscripts from old bindings.

And yet, since remote ages men have read books or had them read to them, and what these were we might know, if they had thought to tell us. But on this subject there is little direct evidence, when we leave the classical period. Of books that men owned in the Middle Ages and presumably thought they would like to read, we know more; through the manuscripts which have actually come down to us bearing records of private ownership. But it is noticeable that not many of them seem to have been really read: partly perhaps because books were then exceedingly expensive, sometimes costing as much as £50 of our money, so that an owner might well hesitate to impair their value by marking or annotating them; but largely too, we may conjecture, for the same reasons that leave books to-day rusting unburnished on their owners' shelves rather than shining in use. In this direction research is making useful discoveries. The books of William Grey, bishop of Ely (†1478), are at Balliol; those of John Gunthorpe, dean of Wells (†1498), are at Jesus, Cambridge; the Greek books of Grocin (†1519) are at Corpus, Oxford. Quaritch's *Dictionary of English Book-collectors, 1892*, gives many lists of books in private libraries, beginning from the end of the Middle Ages, such as John Shirwood's, which Foxe, his successor at Durham, acquired and presented to Corpus; or the interesting collection, formed before 1518 and containing many books in French, of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare (1487–1534), who after education in England till 1504, returned to Ireland to high administrative office; and later come Cranmer's rich library, much of which still survives in numerous libraries throughout the country, and the choice books of Mary Stuart.

Further indications as to what men read may be gathered from the library catalogues of corporate institutions; skeletons though they be, with only a small proportion of their books now traceable, or perhaps we may say yet traced. Not a few

survive to show what books were treasured in medieval libraries. Lincoln Cathedral has a catalogue of 1170; Bec in Normandy, which supplied England with her first two Norman archbishops, one of 1186. The monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, had a fragment of a catalogue of 1170 and a long one of *c.* 1325. Exeter Cathedral one of 1327, Dover Priory one of 1389, Durham Cathedral of 1391, Bury St. Edmunds of 1410, St. Augustine's at Canterbury of 1497, Sion opposite Richmond—the only Brigittine house in England—one of 1504–26. In Oxford, besides the documents now to be considered, there is an Oriel catalogue of 1375 enumerating nearly 100 volumes; which, it may be noted in passing as a ground of hope that future research may lead to further discoveries, Dibdin a hundred years ago considered to be 'the oldest now known to exist'. New College has lists of books beginning from the foundation—200 and more given by Wykeham himself, and 60 by William Rede, bishop of Chichester, who was a generous benefactor to other colleges besides Merton—and ending with Archbishop Warham in 1508. Lincoln in 1474 can show a number of Latin classics invading the realm of the medievals.

Such catalogues are not, however, safe guides in our inquiry as to what men read. Institutions looking forward to longer life than the human span, buy books not so much for individual reading as for general utility spread over several decades: standard texts, books of reference, instruments of learning. The books of which men make friends, the pietistic works in which they find comfort, the light literature which makes the heart glad, are to be looked for elsewhere: in many cases for their very popularity they have perished and we cannot have their material presence, only record of their life. There is more light to be found in the will of a college bailiff at Gamlingay bequeathing in 1314 'three volumes of Romance' —did he read them himself, or did he keep them for wander-

ing minstrels to read or sing to him?—than in the solemn procession of a catalogue with its 'items' and 'secundo folios'.

The bibliographers, too, come to our aid. The material which they have laboriously collected, in the lists of the first books published by the press—the so-called *incunabula*—shows what, so to say, modern books lived through the Middle Ages and were still popular enough to make it profitable to print them: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Adelard of Bath's *Natural Questions*, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi*, the *Philobiblon*, and other such pleasant reading.

The Library documents now to be considered are nine in number; two catalogues, five lists of books borrowed at certain *elecciones*, and two lists of books in the hands of Warden Fitzjames in 1483 and Warden Harper in 1507. The earlier catalogue and three of the *elecciones* have recently been transferred from the College Treasury to the Library; the second catalogue and Fitzjames's indenture are in the Bodleian, the latter being also copied with Harper's in the College Register; the two earliest *elecciones* were discovered, together with other documents which will be considered later, in January 1920 by Mr. H. W. Garrod, Fellow and Tutor of Merton and now Professor of Poetry. The manner of this discovery is worth putting on record, as an example of the fortunes of manuscript relics of the past and of the treatment which must in many cases have led to their disappearance and destruction. Exploring one day 'in time of snow' in the attics at the head of his staircase, he found stowed away under the roof two boxes and a large barrel full of papers. A preliminary dive into one of them produced a number of battel books bound in leaves of manuscript and early print, and a vellum sheet containing sub-warden's accounts for the year 1299. It was at once evident that the

examination must be carried further. The boxes were brought down to his rooms, one of which as a result of the war and the coal shortage was conveniently empty, and were there thoroughly investigated. They were found to contain a series of battel-books, almost complete, from early in the sixteenth century down to about 1830; a collection of bursars' accounts, mostly of the second half of the sixteenth century, and including two in the autographs of Sir Thomas Bodley and Sir Henry Savile; besides a few miscellaneous documents and papers. The bursars' accounts proved to fill in the gaps among these records preserved in the College Treasury; from which they had perhaps been recently removed for the purpose of some particular inquiry. The whole store seemed as though it had been ejected from the Bursary, which was then at the foot of the same staircase, in the first half of the nineteenth century, in order to make space for present requirements; perhaps on the entry of a new bursar, following a dead predecessor who could not be asked to advise on the papers found in his cupboards or to explain whether any of them had come from sources to which they ought to be returned. How often in the fortunes of the world's records must such a situation have arisen! The appearance here was as though an order had been given for cupboards to be cleared, and that the contents had been put away with some care by people who realized that they were important enough to be worth preserving, but who could not read them even sufficiently to form an idea of their contents or to place them in the series of college muniments.

For consideration of the studies of the University during the Middle Ages, material is not abundant. The general lines upon which the students' courses were arranged have often been drawn, and are no doubt substantially correct. But generalities are exposed to frequent danger, if they are based on inadequate foundations. In thinking of earlier ages

it is easy to accept the contraction shown by perspective, and to forget that in the distant past ten years took as long to traverse as they do now and will do in the future. To every generation half a century seems to make a great gulf. From the mid-Victorians of 1870 we seem to have travelled a long way. Their thoughts were not our thoughts, we say; and we are apt to consider our own both better and wiser. In the other direction, which of us ever thinks seriously of what the world will be like to the men of 1970? And yet in general sketches men will take fifty or a hundred years in their stride, and dress up shreds of information to make a seamless robe; as though lack of material were no difficulty, and as though the dawn of say 1420 saw men just the same as they had been in 1370 or even in 1400. Therefore, though our series of records may not have much to add that is new, it is worth while to examine them in detail, since they tell us definitely and with precise dates some of the books which the members of a College had at their disposal and which they borrowed in order to prepare for their exercises.

The first Catalogue enumerates about 80 books in three sections, philosophy, mathematics, and grammar. From the dates of the few donors mentioned, it seems to have been drawn up *c.* 1320, with additions of legacies, which bring it down to *c.* 1340. The Philosophy consists of the books necessary for the schools, mostly translations from Aristotle; Physics and Metaphysics, *De anima*, Politics, Ethics, Meteorologics, *De celo et mundo*, *De generacione*, and the Old and the New Logic, with a few commentators, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Auvergne, and others—most of them in several copies. Among Mathematics come Euclid, Ptolemy's Almagest, the Perspective of the Arabian Alhasan, *Theorica Planetarum*, part of Marcianus Capella, Plato's *Timaeus* with a commentary, of course in Latin; and two astrolabes, one valued at 13*s.* 4*d.*, the other at 10*s.* Of Grammar there are only four volumes;

three Priscians and Ebrard's *Grecismus* bound up with Boethius's *De disciplina scolarium*. The later donations are entirely philosophical, the most important being a Physics and Metaphysics valued at 26*s.* 8*d.* (=at an estimate of 15 times, £20 to-day), bequeathed by William de Bosco, who was Chancellor of the University—a book which was in great request in College and was still alive in 1451. Two of the books are described as on calves' skin vellum (membrana vitulina), the choicest and most expensive kind. Of the whole list not a single one can now be traced in the Library.

The manuscripts are identified in the catalogue by the first words of the second leaf, the 'probatory words'. This method seems to have come into use during the thirteenth century: it is not found in the twelfth-century catalogues of Christ Church, Canterbury, and of Lincoln Cathedral; by the fourteenth century it was widely adopted. Part of the catalogue of Dover Priory (1389) gives the opening words of each treatise; but the comparative worthlessness of such identification was soon evident, since all manuscripts of the same treatise would have the same beginning. The regular form of entry is 'secundo folio', and then the probatory words. An example of the pitfalls attending research on new ground is that Rud, when cataloguing the Durham Cathedral Library in 1825, found in the 1391 catalogue an entry, '2° fo. *diuina*'; which he interpreted to mean that the two first leaves, no longer extant, were of exceptional beauty. From such stumbling all pioneers may pray to be delivered, but few there be that escape.

In this connexion there is a point that may be made. It is commonly assumed that manuscripts with the same 'secundo folio' and any similarity of origin or location may be considered to be identical; and this is no doubt in the main correct, since only on such a foundation could this method of identification have been generally adopted. But it is not

impossible that a practice adopted later by the printer may have been formed in the days of manuscripts. Cases are known in which a printer wishing to issue a book again without any change has taken a volume of the earlier issue, and had it set up by his compositors with exact correspondence of pages, but with freedom to each compositor in the part allotted to him to vary lines and contractions of type, so long as he reached at the foot of each page exactly the same point in the text as was reached in the issue he was following. Such a method evidently made it possible to reprint a book with great rapidity, since any number of compositors could be set to work at the same time.

In the days of manuscripts scholars have recorded how, wishing to obtain a copy of a book quickly—for example, of one discovered in a library they were passing on their travels—they borrowed the original and, apparently with the consent of its guardians, had it taken to pieces and divided among a number of hired scribes, and by next morning had received a complete copy; the original being of course sewn together again and returned to its place. For such a process the method of copying page by page had obvious advantages; since by such precaution each scribe would arrive accurately at the point of contact with his neighbour. It was especially applicable to small books, such as were many recorded in the catalogues we are considering: whose price in case of loss is given only in a few pence. It is possible therefore that some of the smaller volumes which appear in these records over a distance of a century and more, may have been born again after long contrition at the hands of diligent students.

The second Catalogue—now, alas, in the Bodleian (Oxfordshire Roll 25)—is longer and more interesting. It enumerates 250 books, all theological, and may be dated, from the names of the donors, about 1360: in any case it must be prior to the great gift of 100 books by William Rede, bishop of

Chichester and sometime Fellow, who in 1377 built for Merton what was then known as the New Library; for though most of the 36 manuscripts which now survive from this gift, are theological, Rede's name does not appear on the list at all. It is arranged by subjects and authors, the 'secundo folios' are given, and for 184 of the books donors are named. It is thus possible to trace the gradual growth of this department of the Library.

The first Warden, Peter of Abingdon (†1292), gave or bequeathed three small parts of the Bible at the cost of 15*s.*; his successor, Richard of Worplesdon (†1295), three volumes of Aquinas on the Sentences at the cost of £1 8*s.*; Richard of Gidding, Fellow (†*a.* 1299), eleven books, five of which were on the Sentences, at the cost of £4 11*s.* 4*d.*; William Burnel, Fellow (†1304), spent £6 13*s.* on five splendid volumes, one of which was Augustine's *De Ciuitate Dei*, another was Jerome; Henry of Mamisfeld, Fellow (†1328), a similar sum on six books, including what must have been a fine Gospels costing £3 6*s.* 8*d.* (= £50 to-day). The largest donors were two Fellows in Edward II's reign, John Stauele, who gave 39 books costing more than £28, and William Harington (†1344), who gave 21 books at a cost of £12 3*s.* 8*d.* Eleven books were bought for £8 3*s.*, apparently out of College funds. The encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages, Vincent of Beauvais, did not come into the Library till 1329, when it was bequeathed by Roger of Martivale, bishop of Salisbury and formerly Fellow: a contrast with Corpus, where Mentelin's printed Vincent of 1473–6—probably as splendid a copy as may be seen anywhere—was one of the books presented by the Founder, Bishop Foxe.

This catalogue shows that in theological books the Library was surprisingly rich for an institution not yet 100 years old and of no great wealth or resources. The list opens with historical theology: nine copies of the *Historia scolastica*,

two of some *Historia ecclesiastica*, Eusebius or Bede or Hugo of Fleury; under History are Josephus and Vincent, under chronicles Roger of Chester and Martin of Poland. Then comes divinity proper, the Bible and commentaries on it: of *Postille* on different parts of the Bible there are 28; no Bible complete, but 43 volumes containing one or more parts, in each case with the Gloss; 16 copies of the Sentences and 42 volumes of commentary by Aquinas, Scotus, and other learned doctors. Of the Fathers, Augustine, as usual, is the most prominent. Of the *De Ciuitate Dei* there were 9 copies, an indication of popularity which may be compared with the remarkable number of printed editions before 1500; then his Commentary on the Psalms in two volumes, costing £6 13*s*. 4*d*. (= £100 to-day); 8 copies of the *De Trinitate*, 7 of the *Super Genesim*, in all 47 volumes, nearly a fifth of the whole list. Of Jerome on the contrary there are only 3; 9 of Gregory, 7 of Anselm, 1 of Ambrose, 4 of Bernard, 3 of Bede, including the *De Gestis Anglorum*. At the end come a few which have strayed out of the classical catalogue, if such there was, Boethius *de Consolatione*, Seneca *de Clementia*, and the Letters to Lucilius.

Thus far philosophy, mathematics, grammar, and theology, and perhaps classics too: if the Boethius and Seneca were really the only representatives of a section which often is well filled in monastic catalogues. Of law and medicine there were probably no lists, since these studies were as yet hardly recognized in College. Archbishop Peckham at his visitation in 1284 had done his utmost to discourage the study of Canon Law; and a further indication is that, as we shall see, there was a demand in 1339 for the fundamental books of that subject.

These two catalogues show, then, that in the middle of the fourteenth century the Library contained more than 330 books: no great total if compared with those of the monas-

teries. Christ Church, Canterbury, had more than 1,800, St. Augustine's there 1,837, Bury St. Edmund's 2,000, Sion (much later) 1,421. But even 330 would have been enough to fill the three chests in which Walter of Merton's books were kept, or the definite room in which later the growing Library was housed; and when increased by Rede's 100, such a total must have occupied most of the desks in his New Library. It is clear, however, that the books intended to be lent out, were not admitted to this well-equipped and up-to-date creation. It was the practice then to chain in a library only the best copy of each book, or such as were presented with the express condition that they should be chained. In the theological catalogue of *c.* 1360, against 31 books, all different, is a note by the original hand, not a later addition, 'in libraria': which implies that the rest were elsewhere. It is significant that out of the 24 books in that catalogue which still survive to us, 16 are thus marked, 'in libraria'.

There is some mention of books in the Scrutinies, those College-meetings held three times a year, in which Walter of Merton imitated the monastic method of common life; the Fellows gathering round the Warden like monks round an abbot, to make any criticisms on the conduct of the house, and the observance or non-observance of its rule and statutes. From the whole series of these, the records of only two years survive: but they shed a little light. In December 1338, Westcombe, a Fellow of twelve years' standing, asks that Fellows may be allowed access to the Library; and this petition is echoed by Monby, a junior only just elected. Bocton of twenty-one years' standing, complains that M.A.s who are not studying Philosophy, nevertheless monopolize the philosophical books. In March 1339 two Fellows ask for a 'diuisio librorum'; and two, one a man of nine years' standing, request that a pair of Decreta and a pair of Decretals

be placed in the Library—a petition which is repeated at the scrutiny following.

Catalogues, as we have said, show what men might have read: we will now proceed to see what they did read, or at least borrowed in order to read. Our sources for this are the lists of books chosen at the *elecciones* or distributions of books: ephemeral records, a few of which have come down to us, perhaps through the accident of being written on vellum. The precise nature of *elecciones* is not clear, to whom the books were lent, how frequently, and on what conditions. But the lists give much information. Three of them are close together in time, 1372, 1375, *c.* 1410, and a fourth is 1451. The headings show that they contain only philosophical books; and the numbers distributed are 136, 141, 185, 238. The names of the Fellows receiving books are arranged in a column down the margin; and against each name are entered the books delivered to him, distinguished by their 'secundo folios'. Only in the last, of 1451, the margin has perished, so that the recipients cannot be traced. Though a few names of seniors appear, most are young Fellows of a few years' standing, who were probably still only of the degree of Bachelor. In all the lists the majority of the books taken out, $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$, are Aristotle, of course in Latin, either text or commentary. The book most in demand was 'Textus naturalium' or 'Textus philosophie naturalis'; no doubt some epitome of Aristotle's natural and physical writings. In 1410 14 out of 15 borrowers place it first, while four have two copies; in 1451 six out of seven put it first, and all the six have two copies. In the three earlier lists the first book to be chosen is William de Bosco's fine Physics and Metaphysics: in 1451 it only does not hold that position because it needed rebinding, and one of the borrowers is bound to give it a new dress (nouam tunicam). Besides these *Naturalia* are texts of the Ethics, Physics, and Metaphysics, Logic, *De anima*, *De celo*

et mundo, *De generacione*—mostly in large numbers, and one or two of the Politics: and many commentaries on the different parts.

Of the 136 books taken out in 1372 I have not been able to decipher both title and secundo folio of more than 110: of these 33 come from the earlier of the two catalogues mentioned. In 1375 35 books were taken out which appear in the same catalogue, and 43 more which had been taken out in 1372. In 1410 the figures are 28, 21, 15; in 1451 only 17, 14, 6, 9—a diminution which perhaps arose from some of the books having perished through use. But as the document has suffered great injury, being written on paper instead of on vellum, there are 53 books which cannot be identified.

Among the miscellaneous books in 1372 are a few on grammar, Boethius, and Marcianus Capella; two on medicine; Plato's *Timaeus*; Alhasan's Perspective, and a treatise on the Planisphere. In 1375 there are Seneca's *Epistolae de natura*, two books of Boethius, and the Planisphere again. One book, an Avicenna, is said to come 'de libraria'. At the end is a statement that 13 books remain which had not been borrowed. In 1410 there is more diversity: one man gets Cicero *De senectute*, another his Rhetoric, another Isidore's *Etymologiae*; for grammar there are two volumes of Boethius, two of a treatise entitled *Barbarismus*; there are two law books, one of them the Code; the Perspective of Roger Bacon; and then we come to the lighter side of life, two satires, *Ars Barbati* and *Coniurationes Diaboli*; two French books, one 'cum multis bonis contentis'; and finally a book *De Cantu*, the first bar of the second page being prettily drawn on the list. A striking development by this date is in the mathematical and astronomical instruments, which served so many famous Merton men in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Two astrolabes are mentioned, an old one with

one plate and a large one with five (neither identifiable with the two we now possess, of 1350 and 1390, the latter known as 'Chaucer's'); there is a quadrant of Campanus; two spheres, one solid and one of brass; and two equatoria, one of wood and one of brass, and each with an epicycle.

The list of 1451 is longer than any, with mention of 238 books and instruments lent to 12 Fellows; but its content that we can identify is much less than this, for besides 53 vague or vanished entries, 50 books appear only under the indefinite title, 'Liber particularis' (which, as the Rev. H. E. Salter suggests, probably means 'made up of several *particulae*'), and the specification was left to be obtained from the 'secundo folio'. For a few, the titles can be recovered from the earlier lists, but for most there is no clue at all. By the time this list was drawn up, the studies of junior Fellows had apparently crystallized, natural philosophy and logic being the principal subjects chosen, with a few books of metaphysics and ethics. Five books of medicine are mentioned, volumes of Cicero, Lucan, and Isidore, and one book in English, unfortunately concealed under the description 'Liber particularis'. The names occur of Ockham and Ashendon, the latter Merton's most famous mathematician and astronomer. The instruments have increased: two more astrolabes appear, one large, the other having a double *rete*; one of the spheres and one equatorium; two triangles, one given by Bishop Rede, the other with a movable *cursor*; a saphea with an allidade; and two maps of the sea, one accompanied by a compass of laton.

As has been stated, all these four *elecciones* deal with philosophical books belonging to the College: not a single book from the theological catalogue of 1360 is found in any of them. It may safely be inferred therefore that for that Faculty there were separate lists of borrowing which have not survived. But it has been shown that medicine, law, the

classics, and even lighter matters have a few representatives in the four lists: so that it need not be supposed that these other Faculties had separate lists of their own. This is corroborated by the evidence of the College Register, the beginning of which (1483–1521) has just been edited by the Rev. H. E. Salter for the Oxford Historical Society. Several *elecciones* of books are mentioned during that period, but they are all of either theological or philosophical or logical books. No other Faculties are mentioned.

Two other documents remain to be considered. The first consists of a series of copies, all made by one hand, recording 19 deliveries of books to Fellows, mostly by indenture, between 1408 and 1436; with 3 actual indentures of 1437, in different hands, stitched on at the end. Of the 19, 14 certainly and 2 probably fall within the wardenship of Henry of Abingdon (1421–37), who had been the champion of Oxford at the Council of Constance in 1414; for he is the person, stated either by name or by his office, through whom the books pass. The remaining 3 out of the 19 are earlier. One of 1408 specifies the Sub-warden as delivering the books: the other two, of 1410 and 1418, mention only the recipient. It seems probable that, as the list is written by one hand with the latest date, January 1436 and additions of May–August 1437, Warden Henry of Abingdon caused it to be drawn up in one of those years, as a record of the transactions of this kind in which he had been concerned; and it may be conjectured that he was the Sub-warden of 1408.

The wording of the transactions differs in almost every case. In 1408 the books are said to be 'recepti et electi' by the Fellow; in 1410 'recepti' only; in 1418 the transaction is an 'eleccio'. Other details emerge elsewhere. One list, mostly of Canon Law books, is stated to be in the Warden's custody: 'et sunt omnes valde modici valoris.' Another list, of theology, is described as the Warden's 'libri proprii, non

de domo'. One book lent out was given by a Fellow to replace a 'liber poetrie' of Bernardus Siluestris, which he had lost: in another case a Fellow takes over two books that had been lent to another Fellow, then dead, depositing the same caution money, 13*s.* 5*d.*, as the deceased. A book restored to the Warden is said to be placed 'in eleccione' by the Sub-warden and lent out to another Fellow 'vt patet per registrum Collegii in theologia'. In August 1435 a Fellow receives from the Warden 'eleccionem librorum quam habuit M. Henricus Seuer', also a Fellow—a list of 23—, and restores them all except one within the regnal year beginning in September 1436: so that he had them out for at least a year. Sometimes the books are delivered or returned through the hands of a third person. Another indenture records the discovery of four grammar-books 'in quadam cista in vestibulo'. The latest of all, 14 August 1437, is for the loan of two books of Roman Law to one of the chaplains.

In the subjects of the books borrowed there is more variety. Philosophy, of course, appears fully; and the 13 books taken in the *eleccio* of 1418 contain 10 entries from the earlier lists, one being the Quadrant. A theological *eleccio* of 1435 has 3 from the catalogue of 1360. Law, both civil and canon, is well represented; there is a little medicine and a little grammar. For classics there are Boethius, Cicero's Rhetoric, Terence, Trogus Pompeius, and Cassiodorus: which is the book lent out again and entered in the theology register. In 1431 certain college maps and deeds about land at Seton, Cuxham, and Grantchester are borrowed.

The last document is an indenture by which Fitzjames as Warden of the house of scholars of Merton in Oxford acknowledges the receipt of 68 books 'predicte domus', on 20 July 1483, in the first year of his wardenship. The actual indenture is now in the Bodleian (Charter Oxon. 193); but Fitzjames with his own hand copied it into his newly created College

Register, and it is shown there, that though dated later, the document was drawn up on 19 May, the day after his arrival in the College as Warden. The books, as Mr. Salter ingeniously suggests, were probably some which, though belonging to the College, were in the Warden's custody, to be lent out in the same way that Henry of Abingdon had lent out his own and the College books half a century before. The list is more varied in character than the earlier ones. First comes a Bible with appendices—the first mention we find of one complete, although the fourth Warden, John of Wantage (1297–1328) had given one in two volumes valued at 5 marks (= £50 to-day). But complete Bibles, though much coveted by students, were not easy to come by before the days of printing: even then, Foxe in equipping the Library of Corpus bought his Bible—Rusch's four fine volumes of *c.* 1475—for them second-hand: from one John Combe, perhaps the person of that name who was vicar of Crewkerne, 1471–8, and died as precentor of Exeter, 1499. Besides the usual proportion of theology and philosophy, there are two books of the laws and statutes of England, one in French; three 'libri poetrie', one of geomancy, and another of 'nigremancy', and a book on the praises of St. Louis; and the only classics are a Lucan—not the same as in 1451—and two *Gesta Alexandri*, one combined with Claudian. There is also a service-book, the Sunday Gospels, in English. By 1483 printing was well established, and presses had been set up in Oxford; but there is nothing to suggest that there was anything but manuscripts in the Warden's list. Of the 68 books not one can now be traced: though two of them may probably be identified with books in the theological catalogue of 1360, and one of these two had perhaps been lent out by Henry of Abingdon in 1435.

In 1507 Fitzjames's successor, Thomas Harper, on entering office, took over by indenture a similar series of books, five

more in number; but out of 68 and 73 only 29 are found in both lists. Harper's also is copied into the College Register, with a note to say that there were many other books in the Warden's study (studio); 'but most of them are of no great value, as also many of those in the indenture.' A curious point is that in the enumeration of the books no titles are given, only the 'probatory words' on the second leaf; and so again at later *elecciones*, in 1508 and 1519, at the latter 264 philosophical books being distributed to 13 Fellows, and 200 theological to 5 Fellows. So late an example of this method of identification leads on to its use with printed books; two from Syon now in the Merton Library, Nathan's Hebrew Concordance to the Bible, Venice, Bomberg, 1523, and Elias Levita's Hebrew Grammar, Basle, Froben, 1525, having 'secundo folios' inscribed on the labels affixed to their sides by the writer of the Catalogue which Miss Bateson edited.

The Merton MSS. number to-day about 320, leaving out a few which wandered in in the seventeenth century and later. Of these, only 24 can be traced in the old catalogues and lists we have been examining; and 36 more belong to Rede's 100. The remaining 260 came in mostly during the fifteenth century, with large donations from Wardens Sever and Fitzjames and many of the Fellows. Yet, though in that century the interest in classical learning was spreading rapidly into England, there is scarcely any trace of it in what remains of the Library. The eminence of so many of the Fellows in philosophy and natural science during the fourteenth century—Burley and Bradwardine and Swyneshed, Mauduit and Ashendon, Gaddesden and Merle—necessarily set up a tradition from which the College was slow to depart. The only classical manuscript added in the fifteenth century is a Seneca given by Fitzjames; and there is no indication of any classical texts among the early printed books beyond

a Latin Plutarch's Lives of *a.* 1479, of which we shall speak shortly. Fitzjames's own tendency is shown by his having MSS. written for the Library as late as 1517—more than sixty years after the invention of printing. Though they are adorned with his portrait in his red bishop's robe—the only known likeness of him—, in their pale ink and inferior workmanship they are a striking contrast to the splendid series of Duns Scotus in seven volumes, written for Richard of Scarborough, Fellow, 1451–6, and given to the College by Thomas of Bloxham, his friend: one of the final triumphs of a German scribe working in Oxford, who was about to be dispossessed by the ingenious discovery of his own countrymen. But if Fitzjames was conservative, so was his master, Henry VIII; who as late as 1530 was employing Colet's one-eyed scribe, Peter Meghen of Brabant, as 'writer of the King's books'—and with good reason, for even in the great days of the art the dignity of Meghen's writing and spacing is rarely excelled.

That conservative feeling was strong in Oxford when the Middle Ages ran out—and when is it not strong?—may be shown by examination of the books that issued from the Oxford press during the cradle-time of printing. It is a slender shelf-ful that came out in those two brief periods, 1478–86 and 1517–27, when the Germans, Rood of Cologne, Dorne of Brunswick, Peter of Treves, and the Englishmen, John Scolar and others, were making their venture, to find a living by printing books for Oxford students: 29 volumes in all, mostly quartos. The only one among them that can seriously be called classical is the Cicero *pro Milone*, which by a little irony owes most of its preservation to the library we are considering. All the rest are severely medieval: what a contrast with Siberch's press at Cambridge!

The familiar story of the conflict between Greeks and Trojans in 1518 is further evidence that Oxford did not

embrace the new studies so readily as Cambridge. If More, as the king's trusted friend and servant, had to be invoked on behalf of the Greeks, there must have been strength on the side of the old order, to struggle on behalf of the studies it cherished. Lincoln under Fleming and later under Longlond might acquire Latin and Greek books, Corpus under Foxe, and Cardinal College under Wolsey might have fine young lecturers from at home as well as abroad—Clement and Lupset, Kratzer and Vives. But medievalism held up its head until the eclipse came and both old and new went into darkness together.

To come now to the final point on which Mr. Garrod's discovery throws light, the destruction of books, printed as well as manuscript, in the sixteenth century: such destruction was nothing new. It had been inevitable in the days of papyrus, when after a period of use manuscripts wore out and needed to be replaced. The age of vellum brought longer life, especially when rolls gave way to flat books; but even so, death came soon or late to any manuscript that received much handling, and the operation of renewal necessarily ensued. Thus in 1422 the Archbishop of Milan could write to the Bishop of Lodi about a manuscript of Cicero he had borrowed: 'Instead of your very old and almost useless 'MS. I am sending you a correct copy which I have just 'had made by a very learned man.' Under such conditions the critical spirit had little chance to grow. Before the days of printing the work of establishing standard texts offered little prospect of permanent results: so that the preservation of the old in this way too received no encouragement. As late as 1690 when Isaac Voss's MSS. were sold to Leiden University, the authorities there complained after they had made their purchase, because the famous Vossianus MS. of Lucretius had already been used for printing a new edition, and had therefore lost some of its value: 'indeed', they said,

when they found a copy of that edition in the collection, 'we have actually bought the same thing twice over.'

Hence it is easy to understand that in the changed world of the sixteenth century the old libraries of Oxford suffered great losses. The alterations in University courses rendered the schools-books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries useless; and as they were for the most part no doubt soiled by the many hands that had turned them over, they were readily parted with. The change of religious outlook combined with the enthusiasm for the classics to destroy the theology and philosophy of the Middle Ages; and in the haste with which progressive minds embrace new inventions, men jumped at the thought that a library of printed books such as Foxe presented to Corpus at its foundation—the splendid line of Sweynheym and Pannartz's books which his predecessor Shirwood had bought at Rome as they came out, supplemented by a collection of most of the important Aldine Greek texts—was more valuable, more useful and up to date, than a set of dusty manuscripts, many of them of no great age. It was not so of course with all. When printing first came, the old-fashioned received it with disfavour. A Duke of Urbino declined to have anything printed in his library. The authorities of the Sorbonne voted that if it were necessary to admit printed books, it should be only a small room that was set aside to receive them.

The revived study of the classics also led to disparagement of the vernacular. This too was no new thing. The catalogue of Exeter Cathedral Library made in 1327 records at the end of a section where the price of each book had been carefully entered: 'Multi alii libri, vetustate consumpti, Gallice 'Anglice et Latine scripti; qui non appreciantur, quia 'nullius valoris reputantur.' In 1500 the register of Braunche, abbot of Gloucester, was bound in some leaves of Anglo-Saxon written *c.* 985 on strong vellum; containing lives of

St. Swithun and St. Mary of Egypt—the former being the only Saxon source which survives, all other authorities being in Latin.

But even with all these influences at work, the wholesale evacuation of Oxford libraries in the middle of the sixteenth century may well surprise us. The story of Duke Humfrey's library would be hard of belief anywhere: but that in a seat of learning, which in spite of temporary obscurance still contained a number of eminent men, it should be possible for the whole collection of books to be turned out and sold to binders and tailors and confectionaries without any attempt to replace them by modern editions seems almost incredible. The visitation began when Dr. Layton in 1535 'set Dunce in Bocardo' to please Thomas Cromwell. In 1550 Edward VI's commissioners in the name of reform cast out the books for fear any of them should be Popish, and in 1556 the woodwork was sold for what it would fetch, by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors and other venerable men. No detailed information is to be had, nor is the story well attested; but there seems sufficient proof, in the facts that no books remain from the old Library, and that Thomas Bodley, when he took in hand his pious work, found 'the Library in every part ruined and waste'. If the University fared so ill, we need not, in spite of the healthy individuality which flourishes in Oxford, expect much better for the Colleges. Of the books mentioned in the documents we have been considering, the two catalogues and the various lists of books borrowed from the Library or the Warden, we have seen that only a negligible proportion survives.

The outlook of the Fellows of Merton at the time may be judged from their dealings with their bookbinders. There is nothing remarkable in their having allowed the College books to come home lined with odd leaves of Caxton or even with those famous leaves of the Cicero *pro Milone*; such

fragments were to them quite naturally mere odds and ends, from modern books which were passing out of date. But that they should have received back books lined with tenth-century fragments of Jerome—already then about six centuries and a half old—or with such beautiful illuminations as may be seen in a twelfth-century Hugo of St. Victor, of which much has been collected, seems to argue an indifference to both antiquity and art, such as can only be accounted for by the view that the world was then so full of these things, that they could be had almost for the asking, and so none thought of preserving them. Besides those of the University and the Colleges, the treasures of Osney and Rewley and Abingdon and many other religious houses round were no doubt floating on the waters of mischance; so that there was enough and more than enough for any one to pick up, without troubling about the fragments that we now so eagerly espy.

The detached leaves, some of which are before you to-night, show that from the Merton Library a number of manuscripts and printed books must have been removed early in the sixteenth century, and have been placed in some lumber-room, where they were easily accessible to any one who wished for a bit of vellum or stout paper. A contributory cause to their removal was very likely that under the old system of library arrangement, the space on the desks was quickly used up when printed books began to come. Upon this system a library was equipped with a number of sloping desks, each with a bench in front of it. Books were placed on the desks, chained from below in permanent positions, often embossed so as to allow of the passage of air to prevent damp, and labelled on their sides. Libraries of this kind are still to be seen in Cesena, between Bologna and Rimini, in the Laurentiana at Florence, and at Zutphen in Holland; and examples of books labelled on their sides—which clearly could never

have been intended to stand on shelves—may be found as late as 1527 and 1529, and with finely bound books even later. J. W. Clark was of opinion that the 'stall-system' of shelves was not introduced into Merton till about 1600, perhaps under the reforms and enlargements of the College due to the munificence of Sir Henry Savile. The space problem must therefore have soon become acute, and have led those responsible for the management of Rede's 'New Library' to turn out books that no one seemed to wish to read any longer; and then with the shortness of human life—which it is easy to overlook when considering the undying duration of a College—books so cast away rapidly became rubbish, forgotten by the authorities and the prey of any one who could profit by them in however humble a sort.

These leaves, manuscript as well as printed, come from a series of battel-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The books are quite ephemeral, kept by lesser college-officers, stewards, and manciples and cooks; and were meant to serve for short periods and then be thrown aside. Their preservation is perhaps due only to the instinct which impels men to retain by them accounts that they may conceivably want to look at again some day. Officers who wished to keep their books clean formed the habit of going to the place where the rubbish-books were languishing, and picking up a leaf or two which they sewed on outside. This operation was so simple that Mr. Maltby, who has unfolded and restored these stray fragments, is clear that it must have been performed in College, and that it would not have been necessary to give the work to a binder—an inference which is confirmed by the fact that one great printed book has furnished covers for the battels of several succeeding years, as it would hardly have done if they had gone year by year to be bound outside. It might perhaps be urged that some provident officer had had a number of books prepared in advance; but the

general appearance of them is so makeshift as to render this unlikely.

The number of battel-books covered in this way is between 130 and 140, sixty and more with manuscript leaves, seventy with print; the manuscript being naturally the earlier. In each class there are a few early and late examples, but the periods at which they so to say flourished are 1560–1600 for the manuscript, 1590–1620 for the print. The earliest to have a precise date is 1521, a leaf from a Register of Briefs of *c.* 1300. In 1562 there was some taste among the officers; for two charmingly illuminated leaves were picked out to serve as covers from a law manuscript of the fourteenth century. And so again in 1584, with a pretty piece of Italian fifteenth-century work. One of 1565, from a fourteenth-century glossary, has an unusual interest, since at some period before it served as a cover, it had been used for painting some scroll-like design—perhaps part of the scenery for a College play—underneath which the manuscript writing can be seen. In 1571 a fine leaf from a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Acts is used; in 1577 several leaves of a twelfth-century Biblical commentary; in 1578 a leaf of a twelfth-century grammar with some Greek words showing; in 1584 a leaf of a fine English service-book with deep black ink; in 1590 a leaf of a handsome law manuscript of the twelfth century; in 1602 part of a calendar which is prior to 1223.

Among the printed books the bitterest war was waged on those of the law. Canon law went out of use with the Reformation; and though the civil law did not so quickly pass out of date as does our modern case-made law, it is a subject in which new commentators supersede the old continually. It is an amazing sight when you walk in an old law library, to see the shelves packed with the great folios of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, sometimes as many as twelve in a series, rarely less than four. The printers poured them

forth, year after year, enormous volumes which must have cost great sums to print: they must have been sure of their market before venturing on such expenditure, and yet one wonders who can have been rich enough to buy these great books. No bibliographer has yet grappled with an enumeration of these endless editions: when some one is found to do so, there will be some astonishing results. Law, then, furnishes the majority of the printed fragments which served to cover battel-books: of the others the most interesting are—in 1591 a leaf of a Latin Plutarch's Lives, printed by the R. printer of Strasburg, before 1479; in 1606–7 two leaves of Raynerius of Pisa's *Pantheologia*, printed at Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in 1474 or 1477—a fine type; in 1607 two leaves of a Latin Bible, Lyons, Siber, of *c.* 1488; in 1630–3 several leaves of Nic. de Lyra's Postilla on the Bible, probably printed at Strasburg, *c.* 1478; a splendid large copy, which one would think no one could have had the heart to destroy. But it had no doubt made way for a more modern and fully annotated edition printed at Lyons in 1590 in six folio volumes, which is still in the Library. The Latin Plutarch we might conjecture to have given place to a Greek text, or at least to a later Latin edition; but the present Greek and Latin Plutarch which is on the shelves did not begin to appear till 1599, eight years after the R. printer's beautiful leaf appears on a battel-book. It is possible that the advent of Amyot's French Plutarch, Paris, 1567, or the two books of an Italian translation, 1568 and 1587, may have sent the older volume to its death. Raynerius of Pisa is not now in the Library.

The leaves we have been considering are only fragments, which owe their life to the fortune that sent them to serve some enduring purpose; but it is a case of 'ex pede Herculem'. We need not doubt that where these single leaves were cast out, there were the whole books also. How useful they must

have been for packing! The manuscripts gave strong vellum, and the fine stout paper of fifteenth-century printing was almost as good. But the leaves which a Bursar took to wrap up his few necessaries when he rode on progress to the Northern estates, or a Fellow when the College fled before the plague, would be worn into holes by the time they passed the Porter's gate again; or the pages which wrapped up the *lotrix*'s 'bit of roast', when she went home from washing up after a *pietantia*, made excellent fire-lighting with all the drippings of the gravy. Layton saw Duns 'fast nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easement'; and many country gentlemen may have imitated Mr. Grenefelde of Buckinghamshire, gathering up the flying leaves 'to make him blanchers 'to keep the deer within the wood, thereby to have the better 'cry with his hounds'.

Such considerations show why we must not expect to find John of Wantage's Bible in our Library, nor the Papias and Huguitio and Brito which Archbishop Peckham in 1284 ordered to be chained in a public place in College, nor the *Catholicon* which Bishop Brantingham of Exeter bequeathed in 1393; why Merle's weather-record of 1337–44, the earliest known, and Rede's and Simon Bredon's astronomical calculations have wandered away. But such destruction was not peculiar to Merton. Rede's library at Chichester Cathedral has completely perished. Manuscripts from Balliol and All Souls are to be found at Antwerp; Magdalen has very few left of Waynflete's books. The University, as we have seen, suffered incredible things in the sixteenth century. The same spirit, more happily directed, led the Chapter of Exeter Cathedral to 'plant' Leofric's manuscripts on their fellow-countyman, Thomas Bodley, for his new Library at Oxford, in which no doubt there would be plenty of room.

Pico della Mirandola, as his nephew tells us in Thomas More's translation, 'was of cheer always merry, and of so

'benign nature that he was never troubled with anger; and 'he said once that whatsoever should happen, fell there 'never so great misadventure, he could never, as him thought, 'be moved to wrath, but if his chests perished in which his 'books lay, that he had with great travail and watch com-'piled. And he verily trusted, sith God is all good, that 'He would not suffer him to have that occasion of heaviness.' We may wish that in past centuries there had been a larger measure of that spirit in Oxford.

AN EARLY TRANSLATION OF SENECA

By M. St. CLARE BYRNE

'ENGLISH SENECA' has long been the object of much critical attention from students of the Elizabethan age, but it is almost invariably as the source of so many elements in the drama of the time that he has attracted such investigation. Only on rare occasions are we reminded that he was also extremely popular as a moral philosopher, and that with Homer, Virgil, Plutarch, Horace, and Ovid he was one of the most frequently translated of the classics, being ranked with Cicero as the 'chief instructor of the age'.

For these and other reasons, both literary and bibliographical, interest attaches to a small volume published apparently in 1577, containing selections from his *Epistolae*, his *De Tranquillitate Animi*, *De Brevitate Vitae*, *De Consolatione*, and *De Providentia*. It is, so far as I can discover, not only the earliest English translation of a volume of selections from Seneca, but represents also the earliest English versions of these five moral treatises; and after *De Remediis Fortuitorum* translated in 1547, ranks as the second 'Englishing' of Seneca as a moral philosopher. Possessing no independent title-page, and masquerading as an appendix to *The Defence of Death*, a translation of Philippe de Mornay's *Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort*,[1] these selections seem hitherto to have escaped notice, eluding even the vigilance of the editors of the Bibliographical Society's *List*

[1] The copy used throughout for reference is the earliest edition accessible in the British Museum. *Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort. Par Philippes de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis Marlin, Gentil-homme François. P. Haultin. La Rochelle.* 1581.

of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641. Had this not been so there is little doubt that the humble translator, 'E. A.', would before this have found some mention in most accounts of the translating activities of the period: for as a stylist he has, like so many of his equally obscure contemporaries, the genuine gift, and by this version of Seneca proves himself in no way unworthy to find a place in that list which is headed by such names as Sir Thomas North and Philemon Holland.

The bibliographical problem connected with this volume concerns the dates of publication of the original French edition and of E. A.'s translation. According to De Mornay's wife the book was written in 1575:[1]

> En ce temps aussy, qui feut 1575, M. Duplessis, à ma requeste, feit le Discours de la Vie et de la Mort, auec la traduction de quelques epistres de Seneque, qui a esté depuis imprimé, premièrement à Geneue, puis à Paris et en plusieurs aultres lieux, et traduit presque en toutes langues, et fort bien reçeu de tous, tant d'une que d'aultre relligion.

According to Brunet, however, the book was first printed at Lausanne by I. Durant in 1576. Brunet also mentions an edition printed at London by Thomas Vautrollier in 1577, and states that this issue contains an epistle from De Mornay to his sister, dated December 1576. Of neither of these editions mentioned by Brunet can I obtain any traces, and there is no entry of the book to Vautrollier in the Stationers' Register. The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale—for the description of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Librarian—though dated 1576, bears the name neither of a printer nor of the place of printing. It contains an epistle dated 'de vostre maison, ce vingt neufième de décembre 1576', and subscribed 'vostre humble frère pour vous faire service P. D. P. à Mademoiselle Du Plessis', thus far confirming Brunet's description, but failing to show whether he

[1] *Mémoires et Correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay*, vol. i, p. 89. Paris, 1824.

or De Mornay's wife is right about the place of printing, and so leaving us still in doubt whether or not it is the first edition. From her reference it seems probable that the book was written in the latter part of 1575, but if it was really printed in 1576 the date of the epistle needs explanation.

The date of the English translation offers difficulty of another kind. Although we can set aside Brunet's attribution to Vautrollier, even if correct, as merely an English-printed edition of the French text, there remains the fact that while the Stationers' Register and the British Museum copy agree comfortably that 1577 was the date of publication, the Bodleian copy bears the date 1576.

The entry in the Register reads:

Edward Aggas primo Iulii [anno] praedicto [i. e. 1577]
Receyued of him for *a treatise betwene life and Deathe*
iiij^{d} and a copie.
(Arber, ii. 314).

In this case it is necessary to explain why a book printed before Lady Day $157\frac{6}{7}$ was not registered till 1 July. To suggest that De Mornay's 1576 in the epistle is a misprint for 1575, and the Bodleian copy's 1576 a misprint for 1577 would be weak. As, however, 1 January as New Year's Day (adopted in France in 1564) was not accepted in Switzerland till about 1583, a Swiss printer, if he began his year at Christmas, would print 29 December 1575 as 1576, and this would solve the first difficulty and leave all 1576 for his edition to find its way to England. The English edition could then have been on the press in March $157\frac{6}{7}$, and easily get variant dates on its title-page, while the words 'and a copie' suggest that registration was only completed after printing.

An examination of the two copies leaves little doubt that except for the difference in date they are identical throughout. Collier in his *Extracts from the Stationers' Register* (ii. 42)

asserts that 'the *Defence of Death* . . . was so popular that the 'first impression of 1576 having been disposed of it was 'reprinted in 1577'. This is stating as a fact what might acceptably have been suggested as an alternative explanation. There would have been nothing to deter Aggas, should he have repented of an original omission to register and have desired to legalize the book's position, if in July he found that its popularity necessitated another issue, from then entering it on the Register. The most that one can safely say is that according to the modern calendar the book must have been printed in 1577, though it is not at present certain whether the Museum and Bodleian copies represent the same or different issues.

If bibliographically it is puzzling not to be able to explain definitely the Bodleian copy's 1576, from the literary point of view it makes no difference: the facts remain that 1577 is a very early date for such a delightful piece of work, and that hitherto its existence has been completely ignored. The earliest translation of these selections from Seneca which is mentioned in the Bibliographical Society's *List* is one published in 1607 in a collection entitled *Six Excellent Treatises of Life and Death, Collected (and published in French) by Philip Mornay. . . . And now (first) Translated into English.* So far as the Senecan portion or the third of these treatises is concerned the claim that it is the first translation is, of course, false. It may well, however, have been made in fairly good faith, as the publisher, Matthew Lownes, had in the preceding year brought out a reprint of the Countess of Pembroke's translation of the *Discours de la Vie et de la Mort*,[1] which version had never included the Senecan extracts. This

[1] Originally published in 1592, and several times reprinted. It was written at Wilton in 1590, apparently in completion of part of a design originally cherished by Sidney of translating the works of his friend De Mornay, whom he had entertained in England in 1577, and again the next year.

1607 edition was the only English translation of these particular moral treatises published between E. A.'s early one and that given in Lodge's complete edition of the works in 1614.

E. A. the translator was probably Edward Aggas the bookseller and publisher. The various translations from the French, signed E. A., which figure amongst Aggas's publications, are generally thought to be his own work.[1] He was probably related to the more famous Ralph Agas, both being natives of Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk. Not much is known of him, but he was apprenticed for nine years to Humphrey Toy at Easter 1564,[2] and presumably took up the freedom of the Stationers' Company when he had completed his service. The first book entered to him is none other than this very translation, registered 1 July 1577. At this time he carried on business at the Red Dragon at the west end of Paul's, where he remained until 1602.

His other translations, most of which are accessible in the British Museum, are dull affairs, the subjects prosaic, the style undistinguished. But with these Senecan epistles the case is altered. Coming across the book while trying to follow the spelling habits of John Allde's printing press, it was only the admirable style of E. A. that inveigled me first into reading it, then into an investigation of its chronological relation to other translations of Seneca. Not even the compiling of spelling statistics could make one entirely oblivious of the music of such a passage as the following:

> Man is neuer more heauenly then when he considereth his mortall nature, and knoweth that hee is borne a mã, to die, assurig him self that this body is not his owne house but an Inne, & such an Inne as he must shortly parte from. It is a great token of an hautie minde to account these places where he is conuersãt, bace, & straight, and not to fear to depart frõ them. For in ỹ he

[1] See McKerrow, *Printers and Booksellers, 1557–1641*; also *D.N.B.*

[2] Arber, i. 229.

knoweth and remẽbreth from whence he commeth, he knoweth also whither he must return. (*Epistle 121.*)

His work has most of the merits of Elizabethan translation at its best—fidelity to the sense and spirit of the original rather than syntactical or literal accuracy, vigorous and natural expression, and a fine feeling for rhythm. This last is particularly noticeable whenever his rendering is compared with others. Where Lodge writes if not inelegantly yet hardly with dignity:

Behold with what swiftnesse time posteth away: thinke vpon this short race whither we runne so swiftly. Consider this great company of mankind, which tendeth to the same end . . .

E. A. imparts an emotional quality well suited to the theme:

Consider me the breuitie of time, mark the shortnesse of this carrier wherin we run so hastely. Se the folowing on of all mankinde, tending into one place. (*Epistle 100.*)

His slightly heavier cadences are just sufficient to give the passage a meditative and elegiac note, whereas Lodge falls into the unsuitable (and somewhat weakened) rhythm of 'The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold', and further spoils his effect by the reiteration of 'swiftnesse' and 'swiftly'.

E. A.'s version compares well with his French original. He can be literal and 'correct' as in his rendering of Epistle 24, and yet secure on the whole a slightly more sonorous and dignified effect than De Mornay: he can also turn De Mornay's lucid and idiomatic opening of Epistle 30 into equally idiomatic English:

C'est vne grande chose, lucile mon amy qu'il faut aprẽdre de lõgue main partir de bon coeur d'icy, quand cest heure ineuitable viẽdra. (Sig. Dv.)

To departe out of this worlde with a good wil, when soeuer this in[e]uitable hower shall come vppon vs (freend Lucilius) is a great matter, & a thing which long time we ought to study for.

He is, of course, helped by his immediate original. Lodge, for example, translates in Epistle 62, 'neither yeeres nor daies

'shall bring to passe that wee haue liued sufficiently, but the 'minde.' It is rhythmical and adequate, but for his literal *minde* (*animus*) De Mornay has the more sensitive *cœur et volonté*, so that the sentence becomes naturally in E. A.: 'It is neither yeeres nor dayes that causeth vs to haue liued 'long inough, but our harts and minde.'

De Mornay, however, is equally well served by the Englishman, and it is worth while to put two representative passages side by side to show E. A.'s real merit, and in particular his power of finding the equivalent English phrase and syntax, as in the last sentence of the following:

Les choses prosperes tõbent aux mains de la populace, & des vils & bas esprits. Mais c'est le propre d'vn grand homme de faire joug aux calamitez, & à tout ce qui estõne les mortels. Ie te juge miserable, en ce que tu n'as esté miserable, malheureux qui n'as point eu de malheur. Tu as passé ta vie sãs ennemy. Personne ne sçaura ce que tu vaux ne mesme toy mesme. (Sigs. Fvj, Fvij.)

Prosperous things doo stil light in the hands of the meane people of vile and base mindes: but the propertie of a valiant man is to subdue calamities and what soeuer els astonisheth mortall men. I doo account thee miserable, because thou haste felt no misery, & vnhapy in that thou hast no mischaũces. Thou hast liued without any enemyes. No man, no not thy self can tel what thou canst doo. (*Of Prosperitie.*)

Many more such examples might be cited, but one other must suffice: De Mornay's 'ne pouuons nous esprouuer si nous le sçaurons' he renders with the utmost felicity as 'we cãnot try whether we be perfect or no'.

Though giving on the whole a remarkably faithful rendering of his original, E. A. has his mistranslations. They are mostly isolated words, such as *maintaine* for *m'entretien* (*adloquor*): but there is at any rate one more considerable example which is sufficiently amusing to quote in full. In Epistle 36 the Latin reads:

Nemo discit, ut si necesse fuerit, aequo animo in rosa iaceat, sed in hoc duratur, ut tormentis non submittat fidem, ut si necesse fuerit, stans etiam aliquando saucius pro vallo pervigilet *et ne pilo quidem incumbat, quia solet obrepere interim somnus in aliquod adminiculum reclinatis.*

The italicized portion De Mornay has translated by 'comment il se gardera de s'appuyer mesmes sur vn pieu, de peur 'que le sommeil ne le surprenne ainsi appuyé'. Of this piece of idealism E. A.'s practical English mind has made a thoroughly practical precept: 'and how leaning vpon 'a pikes end he may abstain from drowsinesse, lest the same 'prick him.'[1]

Comparing him with the unknown translator of the 1607 volume, one is struck by E. A.'s superior accuracy. In Epistle 57, for example, the 1607 edition mistranslates De Mornay's 'Nos corps s'en vont a vau l'eau, comme les riuieres' as 'our bodies ebbe, and turne backe like the course of the waters'.[2] Also, if not actually a mistranslation of the passage already quoted on pp. 282–3, the following is certainly an awkward and ambiguous rendering:

> Neither yeers nor dayes hinder our liuing long enough, but only our own willes and desires.

Similarly in felicity of phrase, trueness of rhythm, and a general sensitiveness to the tone and spirit of the work the unknown translator is hopelessly outclassed.

Lodge's 'monumental version' has received distinguished praise as 'a work undimmed by comparison even with Holland's translation of Plutarch's Morals'. Undoubtedly the magnitude of his task sets him at a disadvantage: one can hardly demand the same finished quality from a large folio of 917 pages that one appreciates in a small volume of selections. When all allowances have been made, however, for the M.A., M.D., there is, so far as the *Epistolae* are concerned, a notice-

[1] A small point of bibliography arises here in connexion with Epistle 36 in the 1581 French edition. It is an octavo, bound in eights, and in gathering D, in setting up the inner forme, pp. 10 and 11 (Sigs. Dv and Dvi) have been transposed, with the result that Epistles 30 and 36 have become mixed.

[2] The Latin is 'Corpora nostra rapiuntur fluminum more', which E. A., following De Mornay, has rendered 'Our bodies doo swim down ỹ streme like riuers'.

able advantage in the matter of ear to be credited to the author-publisher. A greater distinction of style and a charm have been given to the less pretentious of the two translators. One example, chosen merely because it is the first epistle in the *Selections*, not because it stands out from the others, will make this clear, and further comment unnecessary:

Tosse these things in thy minde, which thou hast oftentimes heard, which thou hast often said. Approue it by effect, if thou hast truely said it, or truely heard it. For it is a villainous reproach, which is wont to be obiected against vs, if we handle the words of *Philosophie*, but not the workes. . . . I remember that thou debating sometime on this place, diddest say, that we fall not suddenly into death, but by little and little walke vnto death. We die daily, and some part of our life is daily scantled: and then also when we encrease, our life doth decrease. We haue lost our infancie, and then our youth, then our man's estate; briefely, all that time which is passed vntill this present day is death for vs. And this very day we liue, we diuide with death.

(Lodge: 1614 ed., p. 206.)

Call to minde I pray thee, that which thou hast often heard and said, and prooue in effect whether thou hast hard or said it in ernest or no. For to vs it were to great a shame to be cast in the teeth (as many times we are) that we doo deale onely with the woords, but not with ŷ woorks of Philosophie. I remember that ere now I haue heard thee intreate vppon this common place. That we fall not suddainly into death, but by little and little doo walke towarde the same. We dye indeede dayly, for euery day some parte of our life wasteth away. What parte of our life soeuer is past or to come, death taketh holde of ŷ same, and stil as we doo growe, our life fadeth away. We lose first our infancie, then our Childehod, and then our youth. All our time past euen vntill yesterday is perished: and this very day which now is in hand, doo we deuide with deathe. (E. A. *Epistle 24.*)

If it should be objected that the publisher undoubtedly benefits by his acquaintance with the Bible, it can be replied that this was, after all, their common heritage, and that even so only one of them can in this case have benefited by the Authorized Version. Debt or no debt, a comparison of E. A.'s translation with the others leaves little doubt that this earliest Elizabethan translator of Seneca's moral works was also the best.

THE IRISH CHARACTER IN PRINT, 1571–1923

By E. W. LYNAM

I. THE IRISH CHARACTER

THE Irish letter is a strange survival from the past, which owes its preservation partly to Irish conservatism, partly to political and religious conflict. The letters are simply the Roman manuscript letters as they appeared after three centuries of careful and characteristic development in the hands of Irish scribes. Two manuscript hands were chiefly employed in Ireland at the end of the ninth century, the 'round' or half-uncial, and the 'pointed' Irish. Of these the 'pointed' was destined to become the popular hand, chiefly because it used up less parchment. And accordingly it was upon a lean and angular letter that the earliest authentic Irish printed letters (Antwerp, 1611) were modelled. The round hand only began to show obvious influence upon the design of printing letters towards the middle of the last century.

Like many other inventions which had their origin on the Continent, printing was introduced very late into the remote island called Ireland (1551). Even if the Irish of the unconquered provinces had had the education, money, and inclination to set up printing-presses, the wars which devastated these provinces all through the sixteenth century made every form of industry impossible; while in the loyal districts the Government kept printing under strict control. The few books which were printed in Irish by permission of the Government were only printed from necessity, because the bulk of the people understood no other language. In the seventeenth century Irish books were printed in numbers on the Continent by Irish exiles, since they would have been prohibited or

seized in Ireland. But all these books were religious books, because the people, both Catholic and Protestant, who had control of the printing-presses conceived that the chief need of the Irish people was religious instruction. From O'Kearney's

THE IRISH ALPHABET.

There are in Irish eighteen letters, *viz.*, five vowels and thirteen consonants.

IRISH LETTERS	ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS	IRISH PHONETIC NAMES OF THE LETTERS.
A, a	A, a	aw, a.
B, b	B, b	bay.
C, c	C, c	kay.
D, d	D, d	day.
E, e	E, e	ey, ĕh (short)
F, f	F, f	fay
G, g	G, g	gay
I, i	I, i	ee, ĭ
L, l	L, l	ell
M, m	M, m	may
N, n	N, n	enn
O, o	O, o	oh, ŏ
P, p	P, p	pay
R, r	R, r	err
S, s	S, s	shay
T, t	T, t	chay
U, u	U, u	oo, ŭ
H, h	H, h	hay

We have given two phonetic names for the vowels, the *long* and *short*. h is only used in certain positions to prevent a hiatus.

No. 1. The Irish alphabet. Modern type.

Catechism of 1571 to Gallagher's *Sermons* of 1721, practically every book in the Irish language published in England, Ireland, or the Continent was for religious propaganda.

The conflict of nations in Ireland did much to cause the conflict of religions, and both contributed not only to keep

printing in the Irish language active but to perpetuate the Irish character in print. In fact, had the reformed religion been established in Ireland as quickly as it was in England, the Irish letter would hardly have survived into print any more than it did in Scotland,—or at most for no longer than the Black Letter survived in England. As it was, Queen Elizabeth had a fount of Irish type made for the Catechism of 1571. It was not a serious attempt to reproduce the Irish letters in print, and would probably have perished as an abortion but for official support. But her action at once roused the exiled Irish monks in Belgium to make another Irish type from which to print Catholic books for circulation in Ireland. Though religious propaganda was their main object, it may be that they aimed too at preserving what they would regard as a national inheritance against the all-pervading Roman type of the invader. At any rate, their type was a good one, and the books which they printed in the Irish character at Louvain and Rome and circulated in Ireland for a hundred years effectively established that character as the correct vehicle for the Irish language. The contest for the souls of the Irish people has at least produced one result for which we may be entirely grateful.

In 1680 the Church of England accepted the Irish character by having a new and correct design of it made for printing religious books. In the following century, however, the Catholics of Ireland, possessing no founts of the national letter, began to print Irish books in Roman type. Although many new founts of Irish letter were made after 1788, from 1735 to the present day Roman type has always been used for a certain number of Irish books. In 1880, when a vigorous revival of the Irish language was begun by the Gaelic Union, it was proposed to standardize the type. The controversy which ensued between Irish scholars and conservatives, supporting the Irish character, and business men, scientific

writers, and Scottish Gaels supporting Roman type, is still being waged. Since Irish has become the official language of the country, the movement for the adoption of the Roman alphabet has gained many adherents, among them some distinguished Irish scholars. At present Ireland seems to be following the example of Germany. The Irish character will probably always remain in use for books of a literary nature and for fine and artistic books; but the more Ireland enters into business relations with other countries, the worse it will be for the Irish letter, however beneficial these relations may be to the Irish people.

A great deal has been made of the difficulty of the Irish character, though in fact it is much easier than the German and Greek, and infinitely easier than Russian. The only letters markedly different from the Roman are *a*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *s*, and *t*, and these can be mastered by any one in an hour.

Any one who is familiar with Irish in the Irish character will find not only difficulty but annoyance in reading it in Roman type. The language loses much of its individuality, just as Greek does in Roman type. The sounds of Irish, not well conveyed by Irish spelling, are still worse conveyed by a character which has alien and very definite phonetic associations. Apart, however, from considerations of language or traditions, it would be wrong to deprive the art of printing of any legitimate form of expression. Printing in the Irish letter is a rare and beautiful form of expression. It has still many possibilities, for Irish manuscripts, though they have been studied, to great advantage, for the designs of some recent Irish types, have not yet yielded up all their beauties.

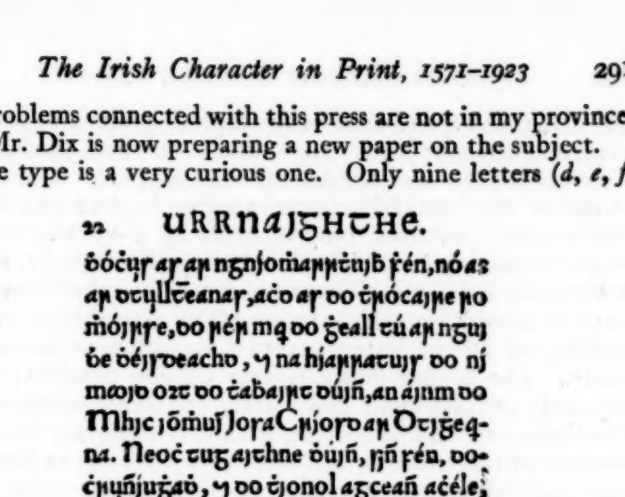
For the assistance, therefore, of future artists, the Morrises, Walkers, and St. John Hornbys of Ireland, it is well worth while to review the older designs which have been produced since 1571. Some of them have had strange begetters and stranger careers.

II. HISTORY OF THE DESIGNS

The first fount of Irish letters for printing was made in London by Queen Elizabeth's order, and sent over before 1571 to Dublin, where an Irish printing-press was set up at once. It was designed solely to present the doctrines of the reformed church to the minds of the Irish people, 'in hope 'that God would, in mercy, raise up some to translate the 'New Testament into their mother tongue'. Ormond and Shane O'Neill had already brought Irish into the Court and even into the Queen's music-room, while the sound, if not the sense, of Irish words was becoming familiar to the citizens of London, for Shakespeare uses Irish words at least three times. The first known piece of printing with this fount was a religious poem, *Tuar Ferge Foighide*, by Philip O'Huiginn, printed in 1571. It was apparently a trial piece, for the poem appears on one side of a folio sheet, and again (noticeably fainter) on the verso. It was sent over from Dublin to Archbishop Parker, and by him included in his bequest to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where it now is. By the courtesy of the College Librarian, Sir Geoffrey Butler, I have been able to photograph this sheet, though it is inconveniently large to reproduce here. While several copies of the poems of Philip O'Huiginn are still in existence, practically nothing is known about him. He was apparently alive when the *Tuar Ferge* was printed, and may have been a convert to the Church of England. From John O'Kearney's *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma* of 1571 (no. 2) to Godfrey Daniel's translation of the *Christian Doctrine* in 1652, several books, some purely religious, some combining grammatical with religious instruction, were issued from the Dublin press. Henry Bradshaw thought that he saw words printed in this type in Sir J. Ware's *De Hibernia*, printed by E. Tyler, London, 1658; but I could only find Anglo-Saxon words. The many interest-

ing problems connected with this press are not in my province, but Mr. Dix is now preparing a new paper on the subject.

The type is a very curious one. Only nine letters (*d*, *e*, *f*,


22 URRNAIGHTHE.

ðóċuɾ aɾ an ngnioṁaṁṫuiḃ ɾén, nóa
an ðuilleanaɾ, acco aɾ oo ṫnócaiṁe no
ṁóiṁɾe, oo ɾéin mą oo ġeall tú an ngui
ðe ðéiɾeacho, ɣ na hiaṁṁatuiɾ oo ni
maiɔ ozt oo ṫabaiṁt ouiñ, an áiṁm oo
Mhic ɔóṁuiſ Ioɾa Cɾíoɾo an Ðtigeą-
na. Neoċ tuga ṡthne ðuiñ, iñ ɾén, oo-
ċɾuñiuġaò, ɣ oo ṫionol agceañ aċéle,
na aiṁɾén, lé lán ġeallaò oeaṁbṫa, go
mbiaṫ ɾé ɾén, naṁ meaɾg, ɣ naṁ mea-
ðón, ɣ ni he iṁ aṁáin, acco go mbiath
ɾé againo, maṁ aiðne agus maṁ ṫeaċou
ne oo ṫáoḃ oo cũaċoɾa, oɾaġail ouiñ
gaċ uile neṫe ðá bɾaiɔɾiɾò ɾé oo o thiol
beañuiġṫeɾe in tuġṫa ð'an ɾiacoanas
leaɾ. Uime iñ atámaiɔ guo ġuðe aguɾ
guo gén ataċ, a aṫą ɾ mó tnocuiṁe, oo
ġnuiɾ ġnáðaċ ðiomðóò cuġaiñ, ɣ gan
an bpeagthaiġ ɔomaṁcaċa nó an ɾea-
ċṁaiñ ɾáoḃa náġna nó ðoléanṁuin oɾuñ
an ni lén thuilleaman oo ɾéin chóṁa, ɣ
ċomėṁuim ṫɾiṁgɾa, ɣ oo gén ðiogal-
tuɾ oo ṫeaſ oɾuiñ, acco gab iñ ano oo

ṫnócuiṁe

No. 2. Queen Elizabeth's type, 1571–1652. From *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma*, by John O'Kearney. *AmBaile Athacliath*, 1571.

g, *i*, *p*, *r*, *s*, and *t*) and some of the capitals pretend to be Irish, *a* is italic, and nine letters are Roman. Of the capitals, *b* and *d* are uncials and *m* a nondescript hieroglyphic. The resemblance of the nine Irish letters to the Anglo-Saxon letters which were used from 1567 onwards by John Day for the Anglo-Saxon works which Archbishop Parker was having printed has led some bibliographers to state that they were taken straight from Day's fount. The resemblance is misleading, for all the letters except *s* are different in the two founts. The 20-line measurements are also different. Consequently at least eight new letters and three capitals must have been cut. Since nothing is known, however, about the designer of these letters, and since they were cut in England, they may have been modelled to some extent upon Day's Anglo-Saxon letters. Archbishop Parker was apparently interested in the Irish printing-press.

Whatever may be said about the legitimacy of this type, the impression it produces is not unpleasing. This was no doubt due to the example of Roman type. It has four qualities which become merits through their partial or total absence from other early Irish types. It is upright, it is fairly heavy-faced, the letters are evenly proportioned and well spaced. The Roman letters interspersed among the less well-disciplined Celts make a firm and even rank, such as we shall not see among the pure Celts for over two hundred years. Moreover, the letters are fairly round; the exceptions are the minuscule *s*, which must have brought annoyance, if not despair, to every designer of Irish type, and the ridiculous *a*.

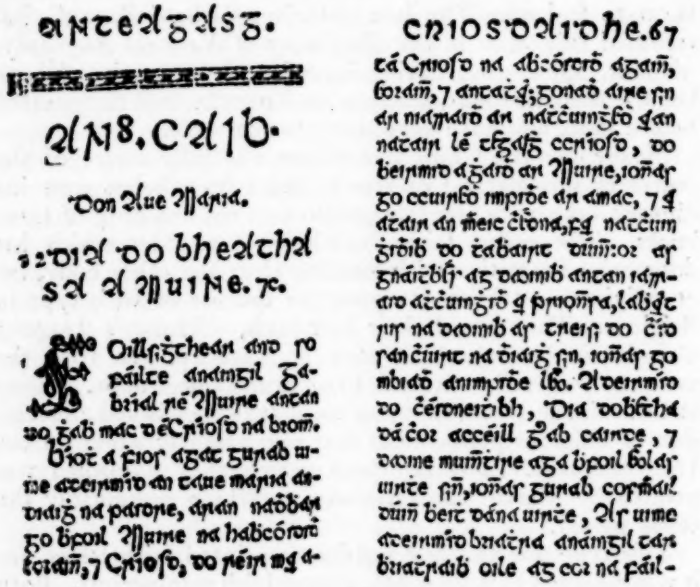
In 1680, when Robert Boyle was looking for a fount of this type to print Bedell's translation of the Old Testament, he was informed that 'by the covetousness of one . . . they [the 'letters] were by the Jesuits gotten away and are now at '*Doway*, for Irish prints, some of which I have seen, to my 'grief, sent hither, further corrupting the people'. This

statement, which was apparently quite groundless, probably originated from Andrew Sall, an ex-Jesuit. Had the Jesuits, or any other enemies of the Church of England, really carried off this type to the Continent, they would hardly have denied themselves the joy of printing books from it and sending them to Ireland. The late historian, Richard Bagwell, has repeated this story in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, without, apparently, having investigated its truth. All we know is that the fount, matrices, and punches had disappeared before 1680, and have never been traced since.

Meanwhile the Church of Rome was fully aware of the power of this method of attack, and Irish scholars were indignant both with the typography and the teaching of these books. The exiled Irish Franciscans—an order which has done more for native Irish learning than any other body, lay or religious—established a press for the use of Irish type in Belgium. They issued their first book, O'Hussey's *Teagaisg Criosdaidhe* (no. 3), about 1611 at Antwerp. In 1616 the press was removed to the new Franciscan College of St. Antony at Louvain, and from that year until 1728 they issued a succession of religious publications and two valuable works on the Irish language. The last book which they published was printed by Martin van Overbeke, to whom presumably the fount passed.

This type was the first legitimate printed Irish letter, for it was designed by Irish scholars from Irish manuscripts. Both historically and as a first attempt it is of great importance. It was in use for some 117 years, and it was the model for Moxon's type, which held the leading position from 1681 right down to 1820. It has many of the features of manuscript writing. There is the manuscript slope (three different slopes, to be exact), unnecessary crowding of letters, manuscript contractions, a want of proportion both in height and in breadth between the letters, upstrokes (the remains of the

ligature) beginning all possible letters, and two kinds of *r*. Yet it is curious how little this type resembles any of the better-known contemporary Irish hands. These show in general a heavier and a simpler design of letter. This type,



aṅteaḷgaḷsg.

aṅṅ. caḷb.

Don Aue Maria.

Sgriaḷ do bheaṫha sa aṅ Muiṅe. 7c.

Oillsgṫheach ano so páilte anamgil Gabriaḷ né Muiṅe anean do gab mac de Criosd na bron. Biod a fios agat gunab uime aṫeinmid an teine maiṅa astriagh na patroṅe, anan nadhan go bfeil Muiṅe na habcóroṫ feiṫeamh, 7 Criosd, do reiṫ mg a-

Criosdaidhe.67

tá Criosd na abscóroṫ agaiṁ, feiṫeamh, 7 anteagh gonad ainm sin an neiṁeard an naṫeumgṫo gan naṫair lé tṡgaṡg ceniosd, do beiṫmid agard an Muiṅe, ionas go ceuṁsó imṫe an amac, 7 g deain an mheic dhona, gc naṫeum gradh do tabairt duiṁ: or as gnathdhi as deimh anean naṁ-ard ateumgṫo g proṁsa, labhgt sin na deimh as tneis do cid san cuinnt na diaigh sin, ionas go mbiad animṫe ibh. Aṫeinmid do ceṫoneiṫibh, Dia dobheṫa dá cor aceéill gab eaṁte, 7 deime mumṫeiṁe aga bfeil bolas uiṁte sin, ionas gunab cosmhail duiṁ beit dána uiṁe, Ar uime aṫeinmid bnaṫra anamgil tan bnaṫaiṁ oile as ecc ná páil-

No. 3. Louvain type A, 1611?–1728. From *Teagaisg Criosdaidhe*, by Fr. Bonaventure O'Hussey, *Apud Jacobum Mesium: Antverpiæ*, 1611.

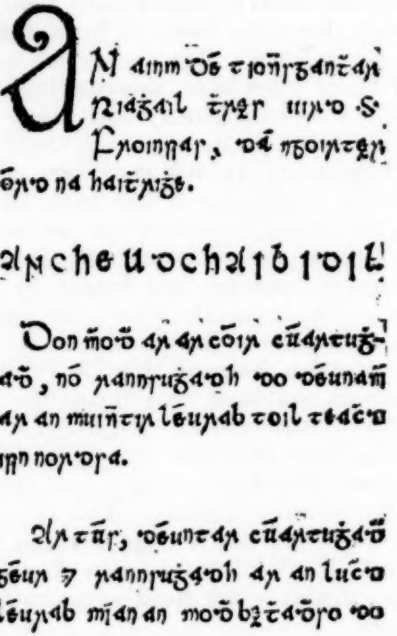
with its light-faced, sloping letters, is analogous in some ways to the italic type of the sixteenth century, which was itself an attempt to adapt a cursive manuscript hand to the requirements of printing. The cutter of the Irish type, who it may be presumed was an Antwerp man, may well have taken italic

type as his general guide. These sprawling, spidery Irish letters have little, however, of the neatness of italic letters. Even when they were better set up, as they were for instance in 1680 (Moxon), they were too completely Irish, too fully and tortuously individual to form a really good printing type. All manuscript characters have to be simplified and disciplined for use in print; but it was not until 1841, two hundred and thirty years later, that the Irish character was brought to adapt its individuality with really happy results. A comparison of the Louvain type with the first Greek type produced in England (1543) will show how much the Greek type was already in advance of the Irish. Incidentally, it suggests that both these types were cast on too small a body. Such complicated letters—if complicated they must needs be—lose in clearness, boldness, and beauty by being cast on a small body. The larger the letter, the lighter the faces can be; the smaller the letter, the lighter the faces must be.

About 1640 another design of letter was cast for the Franciscans at Louvain, and used for printing the *Riaghuil Treas Uird S. Froinsias*, 1641 (no. 4). Although the type showed some progress in that the letters were upright, more uniform, and better spaced, the effect produced was ugly. The letters were badly shaped and straggling. This type was only used in three or four books, and last appeared, as far as I know, in Hugh Ward's (or Vardaeus's) *Sancti Rumoldi Acta*, 1662. Neither Henry Bradshaw nor Reed seems to have noticed it in the *Riaghuil*.

The exiled Irish religious were not content to leave the matter there. Although Belgium offered many facilities for smuggling prohibited books into Ireland, Belgium was neither large enough nor, strange as it may seem, peaceful enough for the crowds of Irishmen who left their country in the seventeenth century. It was unfortunate for Ireland that among these emigrants and exiles were many of the best educated

men of the country and a number of the greatest scholars in the Irish language and literature that Ireland has ever possessed. They spread everywhere over the Continent, and everywhere they remained Irish.



No. 4. Louvain type B, 1641–62. From *Riaghuil Treas Uird S. Froinsias. Ag Colaisde S. Antoin: A Lobhain*, 1641.

About 1675 Irish priests at Rome had a new Irish type cut for the press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (no. 5). From 1676 to 1707 this press issued several Irish books of a religious character. The type was a decided

improvement on its predecessors. The letters are, at last, what all printed letters should be—quite independent of each other, united only in their purpose to form together

Do Sacramaint na haithrighe.

D. Cred as Sacramaint na haithrighe aṅ?

M. Leighios Sbiorabaltra na bpeacaidh do nimid ig mbaisdeadh.

D. Ga méad a ta do fiadhnaise ag an te glacas í.

M. Ata : tri: drisde choidhe, fosdaen glan isna feadhaibh cheona, 7 loingnidh do dhenamh ionta.

D. Cionas as coir an tsacraid sin do beith.

M. Na doilgh gerb neimhne mhidhean fan bpeacadh, an méid go brath a nagaid de, 7 an gradha dilghi do, 7 as é a aimh fan ccas so fan laidin contritio, a ngoidheilg somoro chridheamhuil.

D. An brogham doilgios as luga ina sin do cum maithimh na bpeacadh?

No. 5. Rome type A, 1676–1707. From *Lucerna Fidelium*, by Fr. Francis O'Molloy. *Typis Sacræ Congreg. de Propaganda Fide: Romæ*, 1676.

a handsome and regular line. They are also upright, well spaced, boldly made, and boldly printed. There is still a lamentable lack of proportion between them. *A*, *e*, *m*, and *n*, for instance, are very hardly treated by comparison with such bloated favourites as *b*, *p*, and *d*; while *f* looks like a large policeman trying to keep an unruly crowd in order. The tails which are sometimes attached to *h*, *i*, *m*, and *n* are in complete contradiction to the character of the type.

When Napoleon 'visited' Rome he carried off this type and lodged it at the Imprimerie Nationale in Paris. J. J. Marcel, the Director of the Imprimerie, made it the subject of an interesting historical grammatical book, *Alphabet Irlandais*, published in 1804. Marcel used the Rome Irish type of 1676 for the Irish notes in this work, but for the Irish text a very large type of a new design, which, as far as I know, had never appeared in any book before. He states that the matrices and founts of both of these came from the printing works of the Soc. de Propagand. Fide, but that the punches and matrices of the larger type had been so hastily and imperfectly made that in several instances he had to recut or remake them. It may be concluded that these letters, which are cast on a Gros-Paragon or 24-point body, were made shortly before the Soc. de Propagand. Fide ceased printing (*c.* 1800), and were never used until they came into Marcel's hands. He used this type again in his beautiful *Oratio Dominica* (1805), and it has since appeared, along with the 1676 type, in specimen books of the Imprimerie Nationale. It is a badly designed type, ugly and ungainly, and is only interesting as a curiosity. Although I have failed to get any information from the Imprimerie Nationale, there is little doubt that both these Rome founts, with punches and matrices, are still lodged there. T. B. Reed did not, apparently, realize that Marcel had two quite different Irish types, and his

remarks, in his *History of the Old English Letter-Foundries*, seem to apply only to the 1676 type.

In his book Marcel writes of the 'HÉROS, dont le génie 'protecteur et les armes . . . en élevant la France . . . l'ont 'aussi enrichie des chefs-d'œuvre les plus précieux en tout 'genre d'art'. Whatever we may think of Napoleon's heroism in plundering the printing-presses of Rome, it is probable that but for his act both these types would have disappeared, as the other Irish types produced on the Continent have done.

Meanwhile Scotch and English colonists and the Cromwellian conquest had placed the Protestant religion on a firm footing in Ireland. The translation of the Old Testament into Irish, which Bishop Bedell initiated and superintended, was one of the many results, good and evil, which the colonization produced on Irish literature. In 1631 Bedell had an *Aibgitir*, or elementary catechism, printed in Queen Elizabeth's type, though his biographer, Monck Mason, states that he intended to have a new Irish type cut in Holland for the translation of the Old Testament. When, however, the translation was ready, forty years after Bedell's death, no Irish type was available, for Queen Elizabeth's fount had disappeared, as already noted.

Robert Boyle, who was active in religious matters as well as in scientific research, came to the rescue. The preface to the New Testament says: 'God has raised up the generous 'Spirit of Robert Boyle Esq. who hath caused . . . the *New* '*Testament* to be reprinted at his proper Cost; and as well 'for that purpose as for printing the *Old Testament*, . . . has 'caused a New Set of fair *Irish* Characters to be cast in '*London*, and an able Printer to be instructed in the way of 'Printing this Language' (no. 6). The cutter of this type was Moxon, the author of *Mechanick Exercises*. T. B. Reed first discovered this, and since his time further 'prooves' and other evidence have come to light. In design and in body

glaċaiḋ, agus feuċaiḋ mē: oir ní
bṙṫl féoil na cnáma ag ṡṙiorṫḋ, mar
do ċiṫi agamṡa.

40. Agus an tan a dubḋṫ sē na
neiṫeṡi, do ṫaiṡbéin sē óiḃ a láma
agus a ċoṡa.

41. Aṡ ar mbeiṫ miċreiḋmḣè óiḃ-
ṡion róṡ tré ġáiṁdeċaṡ, agus ag ol-
nam iongantaiṡ, a dubḋṫ seiṡion riu; an bṙṫl biaḋ ar biṫ agaiḃ añ so?

42. Agus tugadaṁan dó cṫḋ diag ṁórḋṁe, agus cṫḋ do éiṁ ṁḣla.

43. Agus ar na nglacaḋ dóṡan, dúaiḋ sē na bṙiaḋṁṫṡion [iáḋ.]

44. Agus a dubḋṫ sē riu; ag so na briaṫra do labḋ mé riḃ, a núḋ do bi mé róṡ bar bṙoċḋ: gur ab ēigin na hṁle neiṫe atá ṡgṙíobṫa a ṁḟ Mhōiṡi, agus añ sna ṡáiġiḃ, agus añ sna ṡalmṫḃ an timċellṡa, do comlionaḋ.

45. Alñ sin doṡgṫl sē a ttṫgṡe, ioñus go dtṫgṙidís na ṡgṙioptṫiṙ,

46. Agus a dubḋṫ sē riu, gur mar so do bi sē ṡgṙíobṫa, agus gur mar so do doḃ éigin do Chriosd fulang, agus eiṡéiṁḋe ó marḃṫḃ an treas lá:

47. Agus aiċriġe agus maiṫeanas na bṙaṫaiḋ do ṡenmoiṙ na ainm do na hṁle éiṁḋeċṫḃ ag tioñsnaḋ ó Ierusalém.

48. Agus is siḃsi fiaḋṁṫṡeḋa na neiṫeañṡa.

49. Agus feuċ, * cṁṙiu mṡi ġellaiṁṫṁ maṫar péin éugaiḃ: aṙ fanḋ a ġcaṫḋ Iárusalém nó go gcṁṫeṙ cumaṡa a núas umḃ.

50. Agus nuġ sē amaċ go soiṫe Betánia iáḋ: agus ar dtóġbáil a lám, do bēṁḃ sē iáḋ.

51. * Agus táṁla ar mbeiṫ dá mbenuġaḋ dó, gur sgaraḋ riu ē, agus gur tóġbaḋ suas ar neim ē.

52. Agus ar na onóṙṁḋaḋ dóiḃṡen dṙilleḋar go Hiarusalém maille le ġáiṁdeċuṡ mór.

53. Agus do bidis do ġnát añ sa tempoll, ag molaḋ agus ag bēnuġaḋ Dē. Amen.

No. 6. Moxon's type, 1680–1821. From *Tiomna Nuadh. Robert Everingtham: A Lunnduin*, 1681.

the letters are very close to the letters of the Louvain A. type, so much so that in his well-known *Bibliography* Mr. R. I. Best speaks of them as the same fount. Now the person who prepared the translation of the Old Testament for the press and wrote an Irish preface to the New Testament was Andrew Sall, an ex-Jesuit from Douai, and a good Irish scholar. While at Douai Sall must have been familiar with Irish books from Louvain. It is not very rash, therefore, to suggest that it was Sall who provided Moxon with designs, and that the Louvain A type was his model.

The type is superior to its Catholic original. It is upright, the line is even, the spacing good, and the differences in size between letters less marked. It is, however, by no means an inspiring type. Though Moxon's remained the standard type for Irish books printed in the British Isles for over a century, its popularity was due less to its merits than to the fact that it was the only type obtainable. It was first used in a little 'Christian Doctrine' or Catechism, the *Teagasg Criosduighe* (Robert Ebheringam, Lunnduin, 1680). It appeared spasmodically during the eighteenth century, and in several books printed in Dublin as well as London in the nineteenth century. The last book in which it was used was E. O'Reilly's *Chronological Account of Irish Writers* (A. O'Neil, Dublin, 1820).

T. B. Reed has recorded the wanderings of the matrices of Moxon's type. In 1782 they came into the possession of Joseph Fry, the type-founder, and a fount was used by his son, Edmund Fry, for *Pantographia* (London, 1799). In 1829 Fry's stock passed to William Thorowgood, and Thorowgood's firm, frequently changing its name, eventually became known as Sir Charles Reed & Sons. This explains how T. B. Reed was able to print a specimen of this type in his *History of the Old English Letter-Foundries* (1887). At present the well-known firm of Blake & Stephenson hold

the matrices of this type, which has now been in existence over 240 years.

The Irish section of Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (Oxford, 1707) is the only Irish, as far as I know, ever printed in Saxon characters. Why Lhuyd did not use Moxon's type is not quite clear; but he was an antiquary as well as a Welshman, and he resided at Oxford. The fount of Saxon used was evidently that presented to the Clarendon Press by Francis Junius thirty years before. The result of this experiment, though it does not look very Irish, is yet quite pleasing, and better in every way than its only parallel, the printing from Queen Elizabeth's fount. The Irish language does not suffer greatly in a character so like its own; and Lhuyd's Saxon Irish forms in itself an argument against the assertion that Queen Elizabeth's fount was partly composed of Saxon characters.

The Irish in Lhuyd's book has received little notice from bibliographers. Bradshaw wrote to T. B. Reed, apparently in answer to an inquiry, that these letters were Roman (*Bibliographical Register*, no. 2), so he cannot have examined the type. An account of Lhuyd's travels and researches in Ireland would prove a very interesting work, for which there exists a good deal of manuscript material.

During the earlier part of the eighteenth century Irish printing in Ireland was limited to a few Roman Catholic religious books. These were printed, of necessity, in the Roman character, since Moxon's type was not available for such literature. In England several Protestant religious books and one not concerned with religion were printed in Moxon's type. The latter was Dermod O'Connor's translation of Keating's *History*, which contains Irish passages (B. Creake, London, 1723). The Irish exiles, however, began to print again in a third foreign city, Paris. In 1732 and 1742 (no. 7) two books were published in a new design of Irish type by

ar fopālaḋ an Daṁrġo, nō an Llōġ-ġo do (') Dhéġḃ bṗéġge ġṁl do tṁgaḋ é ċṁm an ṁaṙġaṙḋ, o ṙ deaṙḃṫa ġṙn ab é Dia ċṙiṫ-ṁiġ an bġaḋ féṙn, do fopālaḋ do Dhéġḃ bṗéġge, agṁs ġo bṁl ré maṙṫ ann féṙn; acṫ a deṙṙ ré ṙ an āṙṫ ċeṫṙna, dā nṙnṙeaḋ Ḋoṙn-neaċ don Chṙiṙoṫoṁiġ, ġṙn toṙṙḃṗeaḋ an bġaḋ do Dhéġḃ bṗéġge, ġṙn ċōṙṙ ṫō aṙṙ ṫon Coġ-»ṁiṙ, ġan a ṙṫe; naċ paiḃ ré taṙṙḃeaċ nā »follaṁnaċ; agṁs naċ ar ċeaṙt Ḋōḃaṙ Oṙl-»béṙme do ṫabaṙṫ do na hṙṫoṁiġeaṫṁḃ, nā do »na Cṙneḋeaċaiḃ, nā d'Eaglṁiṙ Dé.» ṙ ġaḋa maṙṙeaṫ ó an Aṙṫṫol ṙṁ an Aṫġaiṙ Aṫṫeanṫaṫ na hEaglṁiṙe, agṁs a tā ré coṁ-ġaḋa ġṙn naḋa, ġo nOṙḋoṁiġeann ré ḋṁnn «Uṙṙaṙm »do ṫabaṙṫ d'ār nIaċṫaṙānṁiḃ, agṁs ġṙnn »féṙn d'ṙġlṙiġaṫ ḋóiḃ; óṙ bṙo aṫ ġaṙṙe, maṙ »a tāṙḋ ṁm Cṁiṫṁiṙ do ṫabaṙṙṫ naṫaṫ aṙṙ »ron ar nAnmann.

C. Cṙeṫ é deṙṙṙ do ṫIṙḃ an Rāḋa ro au »Aṙṫṫoṙl: Nā ḋamnṁiġeaṫ Ḋoṙn-neaċ ṙḃ fā »bġaḋ nā fā ḋiġ, nā a ḋTIṙḃ Lae ġaoṙṙe, nā »fā'n Rae nṁaḋ, nā a ḋTIṙḃ na Saḃóṙḋeaḋ?

F. Deṙṙṙm, ġṙn ṙollaṙ.aṙ na ṙoclaiḃ-ṙe, «Rae nṁaḋ» agṁs Sābóṙḋ, ġo labṙann ré aṙṙ an Eṙoṙṙ-ḋealṁġaḋ do nḋiṙṙ na hṙṫoṁiġe eṙoṙṙ bġaḋ ġlan agṁs neaṁġlan, do péṙṙ Aṙṫne Dé ṙ an tSeṙṙ-Reaċt, noċ do ċṁṙeaḋ, an Tṙāṫ-ṙo, aṙṙ gCṁl ġo hṙomlāṁ, leṙṫ a mṁġ do

No. 7. Paris type, 1732–42. From *An Teagasg Criosduidhe*, by Rev. A. Donlevy. *Seumus Guerin: a bPairis*, 1742.

the members of the Irish College at Paris, the printer in each case being Jacques Guérin. It was a sign of happier days to come that these books were on the whole less concerned with religious propaganda than with the Irish language.

The letters of the Paris type are large and straggling, evidently based on manuscript characters and owing nothing to any previous type. It is curious to read in the preface to O'Begly and Mac Curtin's *English-Irish Dictionary* (1732) that O'Begly 'familiarized the Irish characters to those of 'the English as much as I durst without departing from the 'form of them', for few Irish types have been so unlike the Roman. Here appears the round, or rather italic, form of *a*, which had not been used since Queen Elizabeth's type. Although the round *a* has the authority of the earliest Irish manuscripts behind it, in most Irish types, including all but one of those now in use, the triangular or majuscule *a* has been preferred to it. The appearance of the peculiar *a* of the Paris type, as well as of an identical form of *r*, in the Rome Gros-Paragon of *circa* 1800 suggests that some of the priests from Paris had a part in designing the second Rome type.

The Paris type appears as an alphabet, twenty years after it had ceased to be used for books, in Pierre Simon Fournier's *Manuel typographique* (1764–6). It is just possible that the elder Fournier cut this type, of which in 1766 his son possessed the only fount. After 1766 the type disappears. An Irish Dibdin is badly needed to tour the Continent and discover the three lost types of Louvain and Paris. It would be an easier, not to say pleasanter, task than that of finding the lost tribes of Israel in Ireland, a quest to which many people devote great labour.

The publication of Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* at Dublin in 1789 marks the enfranchisement of the language from the ban which had so long rested upon it. This was the first purely literary work containing printing in

the Irish character which was ever published in Dublin. It was an outcome of the growing fashionable interest in history, archaeology, and far-off lands and peoples, and was no doubt suggested by MacPherson's *Ossian*; but all credit must be given to Miss Brooke for contributing to arouse a new and scholarly interest in Irish literature which has continued, in spite of many obstacles, to the present day.

The publisher was George Bonham, who was also a printer, but not a type-founder. The Irish sections are printed in a new character resembling manuscript writing (no. 8). These large, complex and needlessly antiquated letters were, no less than the book itself, a product of the romantic movement, which extended its influence to typography as well as to theories and trousers. Nothing is known as to the origin of this type. Bradshaw did not come across it, for he says that Moxon's was the only Irish type used in the British Isles during the eighteenth century, and Reed makes only one allusion to it. In spite of its largeness and quaintness, this is quite a good type, well planned for printing and pleasing to the eye. It was, however, too expensive for ordinary use. Though it survived until 1815 side by side with Moxon's type, and later with Barlow's type, I find only four other books printed in it, all at Dublin, 1808–15. It has now vanished, matrices and all.

The first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century saw no less than five new types of Irish character produced, in addition to the existing Rome, Moxon, and Brooke types. Apart from the Union, which greatly increased the intercourse between England and Ireland and was sealed by the visit of George IV, the English type-founders of that period were not only good business men, willing to supply a suitable type for every novel language, cause, or craze, but also enthusiasts, who very properly regarded their craft as a branch of art.

John Barlow, the leading printer of Irish books in Dublin, had a new type cut as early as 1808 (no. 9). It may be admitted that this was the best working type yet produced, with upright, well-proportioned letters, forming a good line. But though it may have pleased the printer, it is disappointing from an

Do toirchead le Goll na naimh náis
mac ríg na Sorcha ger chás cruaid
as mág talam trámic an bean
ber tuit anxear sin sa ccrán
Aldaiccear rinn as an Cas
an laoch fan teann treise if gnóm
cuirtear ain fa brágaid gach méid
fainne óir anonóir mo Rís
Déis tuitim an chir móir
A bord an chuain, trí náis an chéim
do bí ingean Rís fo chuinn
bliadain ais fionn fan bréin
Leis bliadain do Gholl na naimh náis
laoch donn nar cláis ceath
na luighe fo dearg chios rinn
da leigear ais fionn na bile
Glacain réin fa dearg dreach
nior éur neoch trí náis no trén
anos ó támtais mo chruth
as mise dam sgur dom sgél.

No. 8. Brooke type, 1789-1815. From *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, by Charlotte Brooke. *George Bonham: Dublin*, 1789.

artistic point of view. This is partly due to the bad cutting and casting of the letters, which are full of blotched lines, partly to the small size of the type (Long Primer). Barlow seems to have employed this type rather as an experiment,

" Zophyſon ſayſgé ſluaſġ Alexandeſ móyſ go n-a ſluaġ. " Do ċualaṁ ngne na Románaċ ⁊ nyoſ móṫuyġ ſſad ſſaṁ " é." Af na bſſaṫſaybſſ yſ ſncuyġde ġuſ móſ an ċalmaċt ⁊ an ċſoṡaċt do bí ⁊ ġuyſſſ na Scſtſa go haſmſſyſ an úġ-vaſſ ſſn. A veſſ Polſcſonycon ſan 37 cab. do'n ċéſo lġbaſ, ġuſ ab ó'n ġocalſo Scſtſa gaſſmṫeſ Scuſt do ſſloċt Shaſoṫél ſlaſſ, ⁊ go ſſoſ vaṁ, nſ cóſa boſll do ṫabuſſt aſſ an vſoſnġ a tá ag áſtſuġaḋ ⁊ n-Gſſſſ anoſſ vá ngoſſſeſ boſll ó Shalſa .i. ó'n Fſaſnc do ſéſſ a mbunaḋaſa, ⁊ná Scuſt do ṫabuſſt aſſ Shaſoṫéglugḋ ó Scſtſa ó ṫtángaḋaſ ſéſn, do ſéſſ a mbunaḋaſa; ⁊ yſ uſme ſſn gaſſṫeſ bſéa-ġuſġ Scſtſa do ſſloċt Fhátaċta ṁſc Magog, do ġab ſlaſſeſ ⁊ nḃoſta ⁊ ⁊Tſáca, ⁊ yſ n-Aċaſa, ṁ⁊ a tá Paſṫolón mac Sgſa go n-a ṫſġba, Néſṁḋ mac Agnaṁuſn ó ſáſḋeſ claſa Neſṁſ, ſſſ Bolg, ⁊Tuaṫa dé danaṅ, do bſſġ ġuſ ab ó'n Scſtſa do ſéſſ a mbunaḋaſa ſaḋ. Agaſ mgſuſm ġuſ ab uſme gaſſṫeſ Scuſt go cſñe do ſſloċt Shaſoṫél ṁſc Njuſl, ṁſc Feſnſuſa ſaſſaſġ, do bſſġ ġuſ ab do Fheſnſuſ ſaſaſġ ſáſṁc aſoſlaſṫeſ na Scſtſa, ⁊ v'á ſſloċt ⁊ n-a ḋaſġ, ġuſ ab é Njul mac ſanaſſte Feſnſuſa, ⁊ naċ ġuaſſ cómḋoſnn eſſċe aſſ bſoṫ ṁaſl ſuaſaſ cóṁ-mbſaſṫe Feſnſuſa eſſoċa aſ ⁊ haſnmnſġeḋ ſaḋ ſéſn ⁊ a ſſloċt, uſme ſſn do óſouſġ Njul v'á ſſloċt ſaḋ ſéſn do ſloṁaḋ o'n Scſtſa ⁊ Scuſt do ṫabaſſt v'aſnn oſſa do ſſoſ, do bſſġ naċ ſaſġ ſgſoṁ aſſ bſṫ ⁊ n-a ſeſlḃ, ⁊ ⁊ſ ſaġuſġ a aċaſſ aċt ſoċ⁊ na n-gla-ṫan ⁊ na n-ſlḃéaſlaḋ ⁊ſ ſſṁe aſſge ſaſ ġáġbaſl ſſoġaċta na Scſtſa gan noſṁ ag Nenual, an mac ſá ſſne ſná Njul.

No. 9. Barlow type, 1808–21. From *Forus Feasa air Eirinn*, by Geoffrey Keating, ed. & trans. Wm. Haliday. *Sean Barluaidh: i mBaile Athacliath*, 1811.

for in no book is it found by itself. In two books it is coupled with Brooke and in two with Moxon's type. I do not know who designed or who cut it.

Type-founders who made Irish type have always been as rare in Ireland as hansom-cabs. James Christie, who set up in Dublin as a 'publisher, printer, and type-founder' about

Do ċaiṫċioṙaḋ ṙṗáṙ ɡo cáṙṁaṁ, caiṫċiotaċ,
Ɡan áṁṁ, ɡan aiṫeaṙ, ɡo cṙáiḋṫe, ceaṙnaiɡ-
ṫeaċ;
Fá bṙíoṅ ṁóṁ, aɡ ṗeaṁaḋ mo ḋeóṁ!
Ɡuṁ ḋeaṫcaṙa láiṁ liom bán-ċneiṙ, bananṁil,
Wánlaḋ, maṙṙeaṁuil, ɡṙáḋṁaṁ, ɡeanamail;
Nó ṁóḋaṁil, ba ṫaiṫṅioṁaċ clóḋ!
Ba ċabaṁṙaċ, cáblaċ, ṗáṁɡeaċ, ṗaḋa-ṫuḃ,
Aɡ ṗeacaḋ 'ṙ a ṗáṙ ɡo ṙáil, aṁṁ baille-ċṁṫ;
A bláíṫ-ṗoilt baċalaċ, ṙɡáiṅeaċ, cṁaiṙ-ṗíona,
Táclaċ, ṙnamaḋṫaċ, báṁ-ċaṙ, ḋaṙṫe, léi;
Aṁṁ ċlóḋ 'n óṁṁ, ɡan ṙɡamal, ɡan ċeó!

Do ḃíoḋ bealṁaḋ na m-bláíṫ le ṙɡáil ba ḋeaṙɡ,
Ɡan tláṙ 'na leacain, ba ḃṫeáɡṫaḋ laṙa;
'S a ṙíoṙ-ḃeol ɡan ṁaɡaḋ, ɡan ṁóṙḋ!
'S a mala ɡan ċáṁ aṁṁ a ṙáiṅ-ḋeaṙc, aiḃɡ,

No. 10. Christie's type, 1815–44. From *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry*, by J. O'Daly and E. Walsh. *S. Machen: Dublin*, 1844.

1813, is the only one whom I actually know to have cut an Irish type. He printed *The Proverbs of Solomon* in Irish in 1815 from a new fount cut and cast by himself. Though it was too showy and too expensive for general use, this type was superior all round both to its predecessors and its contemporaries (no. 10). With its large body and bold faces, it is the antithesis to Barlow's type. The letters are too elaborate to stand a smaller body, and with lighter faces would look like

skeletons of letters. Barlow at least tried to solve the problem which confronts every maker of Irish type—the problem of combining character with discipline, good appearance, and usefulness; Christie accentuated the character, and in consequence had to create a special corps, which, though well disciplined, could only be used as a reserve. In 1816 Christie employed this type for the second edition of Miss Brooke's *Reliques*, and it was used at long intervals for a few Dublin printed books until 1844, when it appeared for the last time in O'Daly and Walsh's *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry*. The fount must surely still exist somewhere in Dublin.

Between 1817 and 1825 three Irish types were made in London. And even then, 250 years after O'Kearney's *Aibidil* had failed in its object, one of the types was made solely for religious propaganda.—*Litterae manent.* The British and Foreign Bible Society, which began to print religious books in divers tongues and types about 1814, had most of its foreign types cut by Richard Watts of London. Among them was an Irish type which no less an authority than Edward O'Reilly called 'beautiful' (no. 11). It is very likely that O'Reilly himself provided Watts with the designs. The design, indeed, is curiously like that of Christie's type. The type was used for fifty years, chiefly for the publications of the Bible Society, and there must have been several founts of it. That curious typographical adventure on a remote western island, the Achill Mission Press, printed at least one book in this type (but on a Long Primer body, the original being Small Pica), 1843–7. About 1868 Watts's foreign matrices and founts passed to Messrs. Gilbert & Rivington, whose stock was acquired in 1908 by another well-known and old-established firm, Messrs. William Clowes & Sons, who now hold Watts's original matrices.

Dr. Edmund Fry has been mentioned as possessing Moxon's matrices in 1799. He cut a new type, I believe for the British & Foreign Bible Society, about 1818 (no. 12). In the

first book printed from it (1819) it is stated that the types were 'cut . . . from original Irish manuscripts made under the care and direction of Mr. Thaddeus Connellan'. Thaddeus Connellan was a person of a kind unfortunately not uncommon in his time. He translated voluminously from and

CAIB. I.

POL, abṙoal, (ṇí ó ṫáoiṇiḃ, ṇá ṫṙé ḋṫṇe, áċd ṫṙé Jóṙa Cṙíoṙd, 7 ṫṙé Dhía aṇ Taṫáiṁ, noċ do ṫóiṙ ṙúaṙ é ó ṁaṇḃṫḃ);

2 Agus ṇa deaṇḃṙáiṫṙeaċa ṅle aṫá maille ṇiom, ċṙiṁ eaglṅṙeaḋ ṇa Galáṫia:

3 Jṙáṙa maille ṇiḃ 7 ṙioṫċáiṇ ó Dhía aṇ Taṫa, 7 [ó] aṇ Dṫiġeaṇṇa Jóṙa Cṙíoṙd,

4 Tṙiġ é féiṇ aṇ ṙoṇ aṇ bṙeacṅġṇe, ċṙiṁ aṇ ṙáoiṙṫa óṇ ṫṙoċṫáoġalṙa do láṫaiṁ, do ṇéiṁ ḋeáġṫoile Dé eáḋoṇ aṇ Naṫaiṙṇe:

5 Aga [bṙṅi] glóiṁ go ṙáoġal ṇa ṙáoġal. Amẹṇ.

6 Aṙ ioṁṡṇaḋ leaṁ beiṫ aṇ ṇiomṗóġ ṫiḃ coṁlíṅaṫ ṫṇ ċṙiṁ ṙoiṙġéil eile óṇ ṫí do ġoiṁ ṙiḃ ċṙiṁ Jṙáṙ Chṙíoṙd:

7 Aġ ṇáċ [ṙoiṙġéṙl] eile é; áċd aṁáiṇ go bṙṅi ṫṙeaṁ áiṁṡe dá bṙṇ ṇḃuáiṫṁeaḋ, 7 léṇ ṁiaṇ ṙoiṙġéil Chṙíoṙd do ċṙiṁ a ṇeṁṁbṙíġ.

8 Áċd boiṫ go ṇdéaṇaṁáoiṙṇe, ṇo aṁġeal ó ṇeaṁ, ṙoiṙġéṙl eile do ṙeaṇṁóiṁ ṫáoiḃ taṙ aṇ [ṫṙoiṙġéṙl] do ṙiṁeaṁaṇ do ṙeaṇṁóiṁ ṫáoiḃ ċẹṇa, bíoḋ ré maṁṅġṫe.

9 Aṁṅl a ḋṙṅṁaṇaṙ ṇoṁe, a deiṁiṁ a ṇoiṙ a ṙíṙ [maṙ aṇ Jcéṙḋṇa], Cía bé ṫéaṇaṙ ṙoiṙġéṙl do ṙeaṇṁóiṁ ṫáoiḃ leiṫ aṁṙíġ ṫe ṙúḋ do ġabaḃġ ċṙġṅḃ, bíoḋ ré maṁṅġṫe.

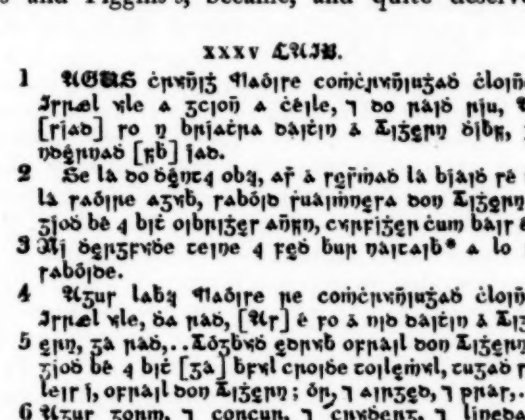
10 Oiṁ a ṇoiṙ aṇ ġaḋ ṫáoiṇe, ṇó a né Día ṫġṙṅṙṙiṁ? ṇó a ṇí toiṁ ṇa ṇḋáoiṇe ġṙṅṁ a ṫéuṇaṁ? go deiṁiṇ dá ṇḃéiṇ Jṙṙ a ṇoiṙ aġ ṫéṙṇaṁ toiṁ ṇa ṇḋáoiṇe ṇí béiṇ ṙm ṙeqḃṙoġaṇṅṫḋe aġ Cṙíoṙd.

11 Agus do beiṙiṁ a ṙioṙ ḋíḃ, a ṫeaṙḃṙáiṫṙe, aṇ ṙoiṙġéṙl do ṙeaṇṁóṁaḋ leaṁṙa ṇáċ do ṙéiṁ ḋṇe aṫá ré.

12 Oiṁ ṇí ó ḋṇe ṙúaṙ

No. 11. Watts's type, 1818– . From *An Tiomna Nuadh. R. Watts, for the British & Foreign Bible Society: London*, 1818.

into Irish, dragged 'His Majesty' into all his title-pages, and ended most of his prefaces with a pious aspiration, printed in capitals. This type, which will be compared later on with Watts's and Figgins's, became, and quite deservedly, the



No. 12. Fry's type, 1819– . From *The Two First Books of the Pentateuch*. 4th ed. *Apollo Press* (*J. Johnson*): *London*, 1820.

standard Irish type for fifty years. It is important as beginning the change from an angular to a round form of letter which took place in Irish types of the nineteenth century.

In 1825 Vincent Figgins, first type-founder of his name, cut a special Irish type for the second volume of Charles O'Conor's great work, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* (no. 13). The designs he took from some copper-plate examples of Irish words in Vallancey's *Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic or Irish Language* (Dublin, 1773). The type was only used in one other book, James Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* (London, 1831), but the matrices and fount are still in the possession of Figgins's descendant and successor, Mr. R. H. Stevens. This firm has since produced a more popular type.

Of these three designs of types, Watts's, Fry's, and Figgins's, Watts's is nearest to the old, manuscript-begotten designs. Fry's may be regarded as the first of the modern designs, while Figgins's is furthest from the Irish letter. In all of them the problem of making a working type of the Irish character was solved; the way was henceforth open for experiments in fine and expressive printing. The thick and thin strokes and the flourishes noticeable in some of these letters are due, I imagine, to the German taste of the period. Experiment has not yet shown what good designs can be made by varying thick and thin strokes in the Irish letter, as in some German and Russian types. So far it has shown best in a firm but fine line of uniform breadth, like that used in Greek types.

If it did not achieve greatness, Fry's type achieved popularity, and soon took the lead of all other Irish types. Founts were sent to Ireland, and it was widely used in both countries until about 1870. It is curious that a type so comparatively modern in style should have kept the old manuscript contractions. Thaddeus Connellan is to blame for this, for his Irish Grammars show that he had a weakness for contractions.

Erp Aipdéchaig Erp. Máel m. Flu lá domhnáll mc mbpiáin tár midi 7 tár bpeg6 co Gall 7 co láing co puc gallud mc Máilnámbo, 7 á peip o Gallaib. Dunlang m dunl. p. h. mbpiuin Cuálánd 7 opdán áipcip ep. ámbáp o ná bpáthaib fein. Fepgál h. Máelmuaid p. Fepcell doec. Cendpáelád h. cuill oll. mumhán m. Gillá Colum. h heeneig Aipdpi Aingiall *q.* i. xpo. 7. án ullcaib po hádnáiced .i. án dundá-leathglap. Máelfábuill. h. heidin p. h. Fiacpae áidne, m. Mc. oimáid h. mc liag domáth do m. táidhg h. Máelpuán. Cpech lá m Máelnámbo fop fná deipib co puc bpoit 7 mdille. Cpeách lá Geobun h. Máelf. tár mág lipe 7 tár tepmánd Cillidáid, co tuc gabálá mopá. Cpech lá h. Fáelán dáp eluáin ipáipd, án dizáil ná epeiche Fin. Fluáig lá mc neocáda 7 lá mc Máelnámbo á Midi, cop loipe fet cellá f. Midi uile f. mád bece. Gairbeth h. Cathágáig .p. bpeg do gabáil do Conchob. h. Máelf co fopgáib um. neti áige. Tánecatop .p. dámhná .h. Máine 7. h. Máelp. 7. h. Flándacán 7 án Cleipeác. h. táidg 7 mc bpiádacáin p. dámhná Delbná, cop bpif foppo 7 cop máth uile.

No. 13. Figgins's type A, 1825–31. From *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, by Charles O'Conor, tom. II. *J. Seeley: Buckinghamiæ*, 1825.

Though the Bible Society kept Watts's type in constant employment, they also used Fry's, which sometimes appears in a book beside Watts's. Consequently the matrices and founts of some bodies of Fry's design have passed, with Watts's, into the possession of Messrs. Clowes, while others, remaining with Fry's stock, have gone to Messrs. Blake & Stephenson.

By the year 1840 the study of the language, literature, history, and antiquities of Ireland had become a fashion, if not a duty, among the educated people of the country. The publications of the Irish Archaeological Society, begun at Dublin in 1841, contain not only most valuable historical matter, but Irish works printed in a series of types which, in the opinion of the present writer, are among the best ever designed. These letters, though all based on a common design and almost certainly cut by the same man, fall into three distinct types. The Pica type (no. 14) used for the ordinary text of the Society's Irish publications is the least good; the capital or uncial letters (no. 15), which were employed as ordinary type in one memorable book, form a lovely type, impossible to surpass in its style; the smaller type (Long Primer), used generally for the foot-notes in the society's publications (no. 16), is an almost perfect working type. All show clearly that their designer studied the round hand of the early Irish manuscripts closely for models. Uncial *b*, *l*, and *n*, and the round *a*, for example, are copied straight from the Book of Kells (*c.* A. D. 850). I suspect that the designer was George Petrie, who was an artist as well as an antiquary; and I find this suspicion shared by most Irish bibliographers. For cutter and caster one naturally thinks of James Christie, whose firm was still active in Dublin. These, however, are only conjectures, awaiting correction or verification.

The Pica letters are cast on a rather too narrow body for

·nocha n-ḟuaṙuṙ, ċiaṙ no ċoiṙ,
bean maṙ do ṁnaoi, a Mhuiṙċeaṙtaiġ.
Cén ṙo baoi an Rioġraiḋ na n-ḋreann
ind Ailiuch ruiṙeaċ Ṙriġṙeann,
gan choindmeaḋ ṙoṙ neach oile
aċt ṙoṙ Duḃ n-ḋail n-daġ doiṙe.
Duḃḋoiṙe nochan ṙeaṙṙ
occlach oile buidheach;
dia iṙ duine aṙa toiġ
Duḃḋoiṙe ua Tigeaṙnoiġ.
Tuccṫa logh a leanna lain
do Dhubḋoiṙe dil, dṙeachnaiṙ,
do chṙeich Dal Aṙaiḋe uaiṙ,
d'óṙ do ḋaṁaib do ḋeaghḃuaiḃ.
Ṙiche bo ind cech mboin co mblaḋ,
ṙiche daṁ ind ceach aen daṁ,
ṙiche muc ceċ muic, ba maṫ,
do Duḃḋoiṙe o Mhuiṙcheaṙtaċ.
I g-cind ċoicc miaṙ,—monaṙ n-glan,
ṙo leiccṫi an Rioġraiḋ ṙoṙ maġ,
dia m-briṫ do Donnchaḋ mac Ṙloinn,
do Riġ Miḋe moṙ, aloinn.
Aṙṙus duit an Rioġraiḋ ṙeil,
aṙ Muiṙċeaṙtaċ, aṙ Mac Nell,
oiṙ aṙ tu a Dhonnchaiḋ, deaṙḃ leaṁ,
duine aṙ ṙeaṙṙ d'ṙeaṙaiḃ Ereann.

No. 14. Irish Archaeological Society's type 1, 1841– . From *Tracts relating to Ireland*, vol. i. *University Press (M. H. Gill) : Dublin*, 1841.

XPS IN NOSTRA. Nimnib lámiban mac echach ipse do pigni hunc çmnum do brigit. Uel ip piac pleibe do pigne. Dicunt alii combad Ulcan airdbreccan do gnec. Ar ipe po ceclamartap pepca brigte in oén lebop. Gubice uirginip laubep ipe a thorpach. Ond airgiepech pairp. Tpé pichim dna do pigned. Tpi caibeil and, ⁊ cechpi lini cech caibeil ⁊ pe pillaba déc cech line. Dicunt alii combad mór incimmunpa, achc ni pailet punb achc cechpi caibeil de, .i.·in cet caibeil, ⁊ na tpi caibeil debencha, caupa bpeuicacip.

P̄S IN NOSTRA INSOLA QUE UOCATUR HIBERNIA
OSTENSUS EST HOMINIBUS MAXIMIS MIRABILIBUS
QUE PERFECIT PER FELICEM CELESTIS UITE UIRGINEM
PRECELLENTEM PRO MERITO MAGNO IN MUNDI CIRCULO

ÇMNUS ISTE ANGELICE SUMMEQUE SANCTE BRIGITE
FARI NON UALET OMNIA UIRTUTUM MIRABILIA
QUE NOSTRIS NUNQUAM AURIBUS SI SINT FACTA AUDIUIMUS
NISI PER ISTAM UIRGINEM MARIE SANCTE SIMILEM

No. 15. Irish Archaeological Society's type 2. Capitals used as ordinary type, 1855, 1869. From *Leabhar Imuinn*, by Dr. J. H. Todd. *University Press (M. H. Gill) : Dublin*, 1855.

their height, and the large number of straight vertical lines in the letters produce a rather gaunt and mechanical effect on the eye. Those ever-troublesome letters, *r* and *s*, project

Feachtar do Ghuaire Aidne 7 do Chumain Foda 7 do Caimin innri Cealtra isin eclais i nuir Cealtra for loc nDeirc-deirc, eidon in eclar mór do ronad la Caimine ann. Dattaraig dim ag tabart anmcairdera for Guaire. Maith a Ghuaire, ol Caimine, cid beith maith lat do lionad na heclaisi i tedm. Frecrair Guaire he, 7 ised a dubairt, fo ba maith lim a lan di or 7 darcecatt, 7 ni ar raint an doinainn, acht dia tiodlacad for manmain do naemhaibh, 7 do eccalraib, 7 ba gach nech do iarraid e arcena. Do rad Dia furtacht duit a Ghuaire, ol Caimine, 7 do beitar duit an traithi do ronair dia tabairt ar t'anmain, 7 robbia nem iarnaim. Ar buide linn, ol Guaire. Tura imorro, a Chuimin, ar Guaire, cid beith maith lat do beith ann. Ro rad maith lim, ar Cumin, a lan do leabraib dia toibecht do aer leiginn, 7 da fiolad breithre De i celuraib caid dia tabairt do lucc diabail do dul an comdeb. Tura imorro, a Chaimine, ol siad, cid beith maith latsa do beith ann. Frecrair Caimine iad, 7 isread a dubairt, fo ba maith lim a lan do saet 7 do galar do beith im corp, 7 me fein occ imfulang mo pian.

Ro srith imorro a niompaire o Dia .i. an talam do Guaire, 7 eccna do Cumain Foda, 7 do rabad saeth, 7 galar do Chaimine, conach beachad cnaim de sriaroile i tealmainn, act ro leiad imorro a feoil 7 a fetae re haincessaib gach galair dia mboi fair. Co ndeacatar immorro for neamh uile la nimpaitib isin eclair. FINIS.

No. 16. Irish Archaeological Society's type 3, 1841–96. From *Leabhar Imuinn*, 1855.

also too far below the line. In the Long Primer type *a*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and *u* are all perceptibly broadened, *r* and *s* are shortened, and the result is a general roundness which had never before been attained in Irish type, and which, in the present writer's opinion, is hard to improve upon. The faces of both types are commendably bold and the line of the right proportional thickness. It is a great pity that the design of the Long Primer type was not attempted on a Small Pica body, for its smallness is the only fault this type possesses. Experience has shown, in my opinion, that the Irish character is not really successful on any smaller body than Small Pica. A smaller body may be possible with light faces; but there is no doubt that the light-faced Bourgeois of the present day is hard to read, well made though it is. The uncial type was used as an experiment in Dr. Todd's *Leabhar Imuinn* (1855, 1869), and has never been used since. Though a delight to look upon, it is, of course, only suitable for fine books of a special kind.

The Pica and Long Primer types were used by the Irish Archaeological Society, 1841–60. In 1853, when the society amalgamated with the Celtic Society, the Pica type came into conflict with Fry's type. After a brief contest, the English invader was ousted, and deservedly. Both these types fell into disuse after 1870. The Long Primer type last appeared, I think, in P. W. Joyce's *Irish Grammar* (1896), the Pica in *Clann Lir*, printed by Mr. Colm O'Lochlainn in 1922. A selection of P. H. Pearse's poems, published in the latter type by the *Irish Review* in 1914, is a really artistic book, and a model of what may be achieved in Irish printing. The matrices and founts of all three of the Archaeological Society's types are still, most fortunately, in the possession of the original printers, the Dublin University Press, whose director, Mr. Gibbs, has kindly sent me specimens.

In 1862 a new type, printed by Messrs. A. Thom of Dublin, appeared in the Archaeological Society's publications. It is really only an ornamental form of the society's earlier type;

the old letters are tortured by the addition of curls, flourishes, and wriggly lines. This type was used for some important books besides the society's publications. The printer in all cases (1862–87) was Thom.

In 1863, while no less than six types were in occasional use, a new type, the origin of our modern types, appeared at Dublin. It was used in Archbishop O'Reilly's *Catechism* published by the short-lived Keating Society (no. 17). I regret very much that, in spite of extensive inquiries in Ireland and England, I have been unable to discover anything about the origin of these letters. They may provisionally be credited to Ireland, possibly to the firm of James Marr, which was making types in Dublin at that period.

Resembling the Pica type of the Irish Archaeological Society, from which it was most probably modelled, this type shows better proportioned letters and improved *d*, *e*, and *r*. The long letters are much too long, however, especially for such a light type, the round *a*, so happily revived by the Archaeological Society, again gives way to the uncial, and the type is still imperfect as regards line and uprightness. At first this type was little used; but in 1880 it was taken up by the Gaelic Union (now the Gaelic League), an important and energetic society for the revival of the Irish language, and was used from 1880 to 1900 for most of the League's numerous publications.

A distinguished Irish scholar, Canon Ulick Burke, designed a type in 1877 which was intended to be a compromise between the Irish and the Roman letter and to end the dispute between them (no. 18). The letters, except *i*, are practically Roman, but the Irish aspirate-dot and accents are retained. Canon Burke published Gallagher's *Sermons* in this type in 1877. Although the experiment was successful in its way, it met with no favour from either the Romans or the Celts. Between them a compromise seems impossible, and Canon Burke's type will hardly be revived in the future.

By 1897 the Gaelic League and the Irish national movement had revived Irish literature to such an extent that there was an urgent demand for founts of Irish type. The original makers of the Keating Society's type seem to have gone out of business, and apparently no Irish type-founder would risk

URNAIGH ROIMH AN D-TEAGASG CRIOSTAIDHE.

✠

In Ainm an Athar, agus an Mhic, agus an Spioraid Naoimh. Amen.

Tabair grádha dúinn, a Thighearna, chum na neidhe-d'fóghlaim atá riachtanach chum aithne do chur ort, chum tu do ghrádhúghadh, chum do theirbhir do dhéanadh, agus chum an beatha shíoraidhe do shaoradhúghadh air an nódh san. Amen.

AN CHEAD RANN.
AN CHEAD CHEACHT:

De Chruthúghadh, agus dé chidh an duine.

CEIST. Cé chruthuigh, agus do chuir air an saoghal tu?

FREAGAR. Dia.

C. Cad fáth ar chuir Dia air an saoghal tu?

F. Chum aithne do beith air, chum e do ghradhúghadh, chum a theirbhir do dhéanadh, agus chum an beatha shiorruidhe do shaoradhúghadh tríd.

C. Créad is éigean do dhéanadh chuige sin?

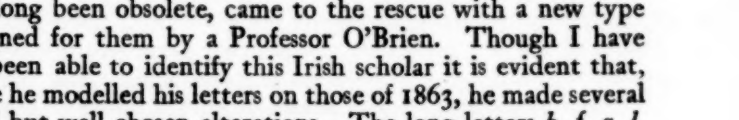
F. Cheithre neidhe.

C. Cad iad san?

F. An chéad nidh, gach nidh d'foillsigh Dia, agus a mhúineas an Eaglais dúinn, do chreidheamh go diongmhalta; an dara nidh, aitheanta De agus na hEaglaise do chómhlionadh; an tres nidh, na Sácraimintidhe do ghlacadh leis an ollmhúghadh riachtanach; an ceathramadh

No. 17. Keating Society type, 1863–1900. From *An Teagasg Criostuidhe*, by Archbp. M. O'Reilly. *Seon F. Fobhlaeir : i mBaile Athacliath*, 1863.

the costly experiment of casting new types. Two founts of Irish type, a Small Pica and a Brevier, which Sir Charles Reed & Sons made for the Dublin University Press in 1874 and sent over along with the matrices, were not, it seems, available, and, indeed, have never been heard of since, as far as I can discover. A London firm, Messrs. Figgins, whose 1825 type had long been obsolete, came to the rescue with a new type designed for them by a Professor O'Brien. Though I have not been able to identify this Irish scholar it is evident that, while he modelled his letters on those of 1863, he made several small but well-chosen alterations. The long letters *b*, *f*, *g*, *l*,


folluiġe ó ċeann go cois le lubra an ṗeaċaiḋ, a dul aig
iarraiḋ na ngrása so air an Te a m-biḋmuid cur feirge go
laoċaṁail? Oċ! cad eile, cia air a n-iarfamúid ṡe mar
sin? Cia an carad, no an duine murntirda air a d-ta-
barfamuid aġaiḋ ó rinneamar naṁaiḋ d' ar g-carad ion-
ṁuin,-Críost? A tá, a ċairde, air an Maiġdean Muire

No. 18. Canon Burke's type, 1877. From *Sermons in Irish-Gaelic*, by Bp. Jas. O'Gallagher. *News & Advertiser Office: Tuam*, 1877. By permission of the publishers, Messrs. M. H. Gill, Dublin.

r, and *s* were considerably shortened, *d*, *n*, and *o* were slightly broadened, and *a* given a slope at one side. These changes were all to the good, and combined with a heavier face and slightly higher body, made the rather straggling type of 1863 look both square and strong. Here, as in every type, the designer is less responsible for the good or bad results obtained than the cutter, who is the executive artist.

Figgins's type became rapidly popular, and has been the standard Irish type since 1900. This firm (now R. H. Stevens & Co.) makes all the modern Irish types used in Ireland and England, except some which are cast for monotype and linotype machines and for typewriters. Even these, I understand, are issued under licence from Messrs. Stevens. It is a sign of

Eachtradh Eibhlis
i dTir na nIongantas

Caibidil a I

Sios i bpoll coinin fé talamh

Páiste gearrcaile b'eadh Eibhlis seo, agus aon lá amháin bi si in a suidhe amuigh ar an mbán i bpocair a deirbhséir; ni raibh dadha go Dia le deunamh aici agus bi si ag éirighe tuirseach de. Bi si tar éis feuchaint uair nó dó isteach 'sa leabhar bi a deirbhsiúr a léigheamh, acht ni raibh aon peicteúiri ná comhradh cainte ann, agus nuair ná raibh ni raibh aon tsuilt léi sin ann. "'Dé a mhaith leabhar," arsaigh Eibhlis léi féin, "gan peicteúir gan comhradh cainte?"

Ruibh eile, bi teas agus brochal an lae ag cur uirre, agus bi si ag cuimheamh ni feadar ar bpiú bi éirighe agus ladhar nóinini a bailiughadh agus slabhra-sidhe a deunamh dhibh nuair a rioch coinin amach tóirste—coinin bán gléigeal agus dá súil dearga in a ceann.

Niorbh' aon ruibh neamh-coitcionta an méid sin, agus nuair a chrom sé ag caint leis féin

No. 19. Modern monotype, 1922– . From *Eachtradh Eibhlis i dTir na nIongantas*, by Lewis Carroll. *Maunsel & Roberts: Baile Atha Cliath*, 1922. By permission of the publishers.

the times that while earlier English type-founders made founts for English presses, this firm has always worked primarily for the Irish printer. Their types, though of one design, show considerable variety of body and face. The type illustrated in fig. 19 is in Messrs. Stevens's design, though not made by them. Mr. R. H. Stevens, who is a nephew of James Figgins II, has spared himself no trouble to give me information and help.

The 'Celtic' type (no. 20) was produced by Mr. Stevens in 1904. It is obviously more a display or capital type than one for general use. It is very legible. Objection might be

leabar mion-cainte 1 ngaedilg 7 1 mbéarla.

Dánta. Amhráin ir Caointe Seathúin Céitinn.

príomleabar gaedilge le hagaid na naoideanán

Amhráin Seagáin Clárach Mhic Domhnaill.

Leabar Cainte. Sgéalaide Feamhuighe. Thí Sgéalta.

No. 20. Stevens's 'Celtic' type, 1904– . From a specimen-book.

raised to the long letters, such as *r*, which are hardly tall enough. An experiment it is, however, and experiment, intelligent experiment, is what is most needed now. The extensive use of monotype and linotype machines in Ireland, though it has brought the printing of Irish to a very high level, does not encourage artistic effort; it is, in fact, a sort of opiate.

An important and long-needed reform was introduced in 1913. A type in which uncial *r* and *s* replaced the unsightly and inconvenient minuscule letters was designed by Mr. O'Rahilly, better known as The O'Rahilly and an Irish scholar and patriot (no. 21). It was cut by the Lanston Monotype Co., and used in *An Claidheamh Soluis* and other papers until destroyed by fire in 1922. There was not even a patriotic reason for retaining the minuscules, for they are less common than the uncials in the oldest Irish manuscripts. In design the other letters of O'Rahilly's type are

cúis Diamair iodbarta fola.

Is iongtach, air, Diamair an cúis atá an siubal i mbaile san Ruise ,é láthair mar geall ar Giúdáchaib a baineas le druing áirighe a tombeireann fuil dconna mar iodbairt. Tá siad cúisighe le marbadh gansúna. Dí bean áirighe dár ainm Deana ann go raib loíta fé leit aice agus ag a buiróin Scéiú cana di uirce agus dubairt gurb gnáthóg gadaiúde a hárus cómnaiúde. D'innis sí leis gur chodail sí ann cúpla oiúche agus go raib a cos aice ar rud éigin i mbun na leapcan mar corp duine, agus gur buail léithe 'n-a diaiú san scróinséan go raib agairt fidil air a iarr cabair uirce cun dúnmarbta do deunamh ar an gceann póilíní agus ar na h-oifigeachaib eile atá d'iarraiú réiteach do déanamh ar slighe báis an gansúna.

cuilleadh buadarta i meisceacó.

Dein na cinéibig cuilleadh ionnsaighe le déideanaighe ar bailtib i n-agairt an riaghaltais agus d'eirig comheascar trom fuilteach idir an dá dhong. Níor fág san an sceul nchuimneasach ag lucht ceannais i Daiseanstan, go mórmór toisc na toghaiúde beit ag deunamh oibre i meicseacó agus mar geall ar an bruadar atá fé jean Sasana beit ag cur isteach ar cúnsaióib san otín. Creidtear go labarfaiú Uachtar na gCoimhdeacht ar an arad so agus go gcuirfiú in iúil ná glasfaiú le teasaiúan ar leit ó aon cómhacht ar leacha na hEireaipe agus Preisin, ná ceadóchaiú aon tsagas riaghaltais i meicseaca ná beiú bunuighe an ólighe agus an óruis.

No. 21. O'Rahilly's type, 1913–22. From *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Sept. 1913. *Dublin.* By permission of the publishers, the Gaelic League, Dublin.

practically identical with, though rounder than, those of Figgins. They are light-faced, and as the type is excellently made, the effect produced is very handsome, almost too much so, indeed, for a newspaper. Though the present writer confesses to a fondness for a bold Irish character, there is no reason why very fine and delicate results should not be obtained by light-faced Irish types, as they are by Roman. Light type shows best, however, on large paper, and paper is now very expensive.

Besides his ordinary type, O'Rahilly designed a display type. It is rather ugly, and not very true to the Irish character. The O'Rahilly was one of the leaders of the 1916 Insurrection, and was killed in the fighting in Dublin. It is curious that Joseph Plunket, who revived the Irish Archaeological Society's type for printing P. H. Pearse's poems in a handsome volume in 1914, also lost his life in the Insurrection. I am indebted to Mr. Colm O'Lochlainn of Dublin for information about O'Rahilly's type, and for many valuable suggestions.

There is now a difference of opinion as to the propriety of using uncial *R* and *S* as lower-case letters. There is little doubt that the supporters of these letters, among whom there are many notable scholars, will win the day. Consistency is impossible, for many of the present lower-case letters, such as *a*, *b*, *f*, and *t* are uncials.

Printing in Irish is still at an early stage, for the number of books printed is not yet even as large as the number printed in English in England during the sixteenth century. There is little doubt that as many great and beautiful types can yet be made for the Irish letter as have been made for the Roman letter since Jenson's death. The first step is to establish foundries of Irish type in Ireland. Though there is now every encouragement and opportunity for makers of Irish founts, there is not a single one in Dublin at the present time. And, to begin with, type-founders of an antiquarian turn of mind are desirable.

THE FIRST PARIS EDITION OF THE EMBLEMS OF ALCIAT, 1534

By EUSTACE F. BOSANQUET

IN 1870 the Holbein Society, under the title of *The Fountains of Alciat*, issued in photolithographic facsimile the first Augsburg edition of these Emblems, printed by Henry Steyner, 28 February 1531; the first Paris edition, printed by Christian Wechel, 1534; and the edition printed by the sons of Aldus at Venice in 1546. These, together with some of the later editions printed by the first two printers, were ably edited with bibliographical notes by Mr. Henry Green; and it would appear that there was nothing more to be said about the earliest editions of Alciat's Emblems. But, as far as the writer of these notes is aware, it does not seem to be known that Wechel printed two editions in 1534.

A short time ago the writer was comparing a copy in his collection, printed by Wechel in 1534, which wants the last four leaves (H in four), with the facsimile; and he was at once struck with the fact that the two editions were not the same, and the book had been entirely reprinted in its first year of issue.

In the differences between the two editions noted below, the writer's copy is signified by the letter A, the facsimiled edition by B.

The format of the two books is the same, small 8vo, collating A–G^{8}, H^{4}, paginated 2–119, the first and last pages unnumbered, and presumably the printer's mark appears on the last page in A as in B.

The title, on A 1 recto, is the same in both editions, except in the setting of the third line; in A the first letter '*T*' falls under the '*C*' of *ALCIATI*, the word above; in B it falls under '*L*'.

On the verso (p. 2) we have the commencement of Wechel's dedication to Philibert Baboo: in A there are *28* lines on this page, and the catchword is '*Alicatus*'; in B there are

27 lines, and the catchword is '*quantùm*'; in consequence, on p. 3 (A 2 recto) in A there are 27 lines, in B 28. On p. 2, l. 21, the last word is '*ne*' in A, the first word in the next line being the same, '*ne*'; in B this is corrected to '*ut*', '*ne*'. On p. 3, l. 3, the last word in A is '*inte*'; the corresponding word on l. 4 in B is '*in-*'; in l. 17 in A we have the word "κφμήλια"; this is corrected in B, l. 18, to "κειμήλια"; and on l. 18 in A '*æratiū*' is altered to '*erariū*' in B, l. 19.

P. 5 (A 3 recto) the woodcut initial at the beginning of the Latin verses in A contains the picture of a lion; in B, of Venus?

On p. 15 (A 8 recto) we have the most remarkable difference in the two editions: in A the woodcut of the Emblem referring to Arion represents a nude boy riding on a dolphin and playing a harp, whereas in B it represents Arion, as a bearded man, being thrown into the sea from a ship, a dolphin in the foreground hurrying to his rescue, and in the background Arion riding away on the dolphin's back.

P. 71 (E 4 recto) in A has 18 lines of verses under the woodcut, in B there are only 16, but on the verso B has two more lines than A.

There are very few alterations or corrections in Alciat's text, but the following are noted:

P. 16. The first line of the verses:
A, '*Arentem*'; B, '*Arentum*'.

P. 22. The second line of the verses:
A, '*Amalthææ*'; B, '*Amaltheæ*'.

P. 30. The first line of the verses:
A, '*ſtuuiales*'; B, *fluuiales*'.

P. 50. The overflow of the first line of verses:
A, '*ora*'; B, '*oras*', or the last letter may be a badly formed '*?*'.

P. 64. The motto above the woodcut:
A, '*In deprænsum*'; B, '*In depræhensum*'.

P. 72. The last word of the third line:
A, '*ſalerni*'; B (fifth line), '*phalerni*'.

The types used in both books are the same, but there are some small typographical differences, such as the position of the signatures, the spacing of the lines, punctuation, &c., and the long '*ſt*' is substituted in many places in B for the

EMBLEMATVM LIBELLVS. 15

In Auaros, uel quibus melior conditio ab extraneis offertur.

Delphini inſidens uada cærula ſulcat Arion,
Hocq; aures mulcet, frenat & ora ſono:
Quàm ſit auari hominis, nõ tã mens dira ferarũ eſt,
Quiq; uiris rapimur, piſcibus eripimur.

Edition A.

short '*ſ*' in A; the first instance of this is on p. 2, l. 5, in the word '*Christianus*'. The pagination of A is correct, but in B, p. *58* is printed as *68*; *98* as *97*; *110* as *111*; *111* as *110*. The corrections in the dedication and the substitution of

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Quàm ſit auari hominis, nõ tã mens dira ferarũ eſt,
Quiq; uiris rapimur, piſcibus eripimur.

the more representative cut on p. 15, which appears again in the next edition, 1535, and, presumably, in Wechel's later editions, which the writer has not seen; and that this representation of Arion's misadventure is also adopted by Rouille and Bonhomme in their Lyons editions of 1548 and 1551 leave little doubt that A is the earlier edition, and that B, the facsimiled edition, is the second, not the first, as has been generally accepted.

The question at to why Wechel issued two editions in 1534 is problematical. It may have been that the book sprang at once into popularity, and that the first edition was a comparatively small one, so that a second was called for in the same year; and we know from the number of editions which Wechel issued in later years, in Latin as well as translations in French and German, that it had a great vogue; but it is also well known that Alciat was a severe censor not only of his own work but also of that of his printers, and that he strongly objected to the meagre and incorrect editions of his work printed by Steyner, and Mr. Green refers to his attempting the impossible task of trying to recall all the copies of the editions issued at Augsburg. We also know from Wechel himself, that he persuaded Alciat to let him produce a better and more correct edition of the book. Wechel is recognized as one of the most careful printers of his day, and was esteemed by Erasmus and Gesner 'as worthy of being numbered among the most renowned typographers of the age' (Green), and it is said that mistakes in his books are of rare occurrence. It therefore seems quite possible that having produced what is admitted by everybody to be a far superior edition to Steyner's, he submitted it to Alciat, who was then at Bourges, for his commendation; and the latter would have at once called his attention to the mistakes and also pointed out that the cut of Arion did not carry out his idea of the occurrence; it followed closely the idea of the Augsburg editions to which

he objected; and that a fat boy, even though he was riding on a dolphin and playing a harp, did not represent the poet's wonderful rescue from a watery grave by the music-struck dolphin. Wechel therefore, either on his own initiative or at Alciat's request, at once withdrew the first edition and hurriedly printed a new one, substituting a new cut that met with Alciat's approval and with the typographical errors corrected.

A close examination of the new woodcut in B shows that it is not as carefully executed as the one in A, for instance, the lines representing the water in the distance behind the ship are in some cases carried through in front of the rigging and the stern of the vessel is very weak. Again, though the text is corrected, the wrong pagination and a badly pushed up '*I*' in the first word of the verses on p. 52, show haste and want of care in such a careful printer as Wechel.

This suggestion is put forward by the writer as an explanation as to why edition A has not been recognized before by any of the writers on Alciat's work.

The British Museum and the Bodleian have copies of B but not of A; the University Library, Cambridge, has neither edition. The writer would be very glad to hear of any other copy of A, and especially if the last four leaves, which are lacking in his copy, differ in any material way from B.

Notes:

(i) In 1872 Mr. Green published a full critical bibliography of 179 editions of Alciat's Emblems, and records eight copies of Edition B, but he had evidently found no record of A.

(ii) Though Alciat was teaching at the University of Bourges, he visited Paris occasionally and lectured in the University there, so would have been in close touch with Wechel. He left Bourges for Pavia sometime in 1534.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Elizabethan Stage. By E. K. Chambers. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923. 4 vols. 70*s.*

In his brief preface Mr. Chambers explains that these four volumes form 'another instalment of *prolegomena*' (*The Medieval Stage*, published in 1903, being the first) to 'a little book on Shakespeare', which he presumably planned soon after leaving Oxford. It is not uncommon for students to find themselves pushed back to earlier, and yet earlier, stages of a subject light-heartedly taken up. A project of my own, which others have since carried out, of editing some of Charles Lamb's notes on the Elizabethan dramatists resulted in the publication of a volume of selections from *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, and got no further. What is uncommon is the unwearying thoroughness of Mr. Chambers's work, and the patience with which he has plodded on for twenty years to produce this second instalment, leaving no section that belongs to it unhandled, keeping himself abreast of new discoveries in every department of his subject, publishing little in the way of intermediate studies, and finally presenting an encyclopaedia of the Elizabethan stage in an eminently readable literary form. His weaker brethren can only take off their hats to the author of such an achievement and express their gratitude for work which will help their own studies at every turn and (however specialized those studies may be) will certainly give many of them new information even on the points as to which they know most.

The striking feature in Mr. Chambers's work is its presentment, with minute documentation, of great masses of facts as they have been marshalled and surveyed by a trained

judgement. The most important thing a reviewer can attempt in dealing with such a book is to give some idea of what it contains. Mr. Chambers's own summary reads as follows :

'My First Book is devoted to a description, perhaps disproportionate, of the Elizabethan Court, and of the ramifications in pageant and progress, tilt and mask, of that instinct for spectacular *mimesis* which the Renaissance inherited from the Middle Ages, and of which the drama is itself the most important manifestation. The Second Book gives an account of the settlement of the players in London, of their conflict, backed by the Court, with the tendencies of Puritanism, and of the place which they ultimately found in the monarchical polity. To the Third and Fourth belong the more pedestrian task of following in detail the fortunes of the individual playing companies and the individual theatres, with such fullness as the available records permit. The Fifth deals with the surviving plays, not in their literary aspect, which lies outside my plan, but as documents helping to throw light upon the history of the institution which produced them.'

There is a quasi-sociological emphasis in this summary which hardly suggests the constant human interest with which Mr. Chambers invests his work. His first chapter is on the two sovereigns of the period he is content to call by the name of the first ; his second, in describing the royal household, gives a vivid picture of that ' movable institution constituted by the actual presence of the sovereign ' called a Court and its life at Westminster, at the river-palaces, and on progress ; the third lays bare the secrets of the Revels' Office ; the fourth describes the pageants with which Elizabeth was entertained in the great houses in which she stayed ; the fifth and sixth trace the history of the mask from its comparative simplicity in the early years of Elizabeth to the gorgeous elaboration favoured by James. Then follow four chapters, of extreme interest, on the control of the stage, including a general introduction on Humanism, the struggle between the Court and City, and the status and earnings of actors. Chapters XII–XV treat of the eleven Companies of Boys, the twenty-four

Companies of Adults, the Italian players in England, and the English players in Scotland and abroad, with nearly sixty pages of biographical notes on individual actors. The next six chapters discuss the sixteen public and two private theatres, their structure and conduct, and the systems of staging at Court and at the public theatres before and after 1600. With Chapter XXII we reach a very full account of the printing of plays, followed by biographical and bibliographical notes on the individual playwrights and their work, or the history of individual plays, where the authors are not known. Finally, we have thirteen lengthy appendixes of documents and other confirmatory evidence too long to be printed as foot-notes, and four elaborate indexes. It is possible that despite this plenteousness there may still be something which Mr. Chambers has omitted, but he has certainly covered a spacious estate with extraordinary thoroughness, and to any one interested in one particular corner of it, which yet has points of contact with much of the rest, the comfort of having this comprehensive, cautious, magnificently documented survey of the whole, is very great.

To bibliographers Mr. Chambers's chapter on 'The Printing of Plays' should be the most interesting in his book. It is certainly the best account yet written of what was done at Stationers' Hall in the reign of Elizabeth, and those more immediately concerned with the subject should be spurred by the thoroughness with which Mr. Chambers investigates the licensing of plays to apply his methods to entries of other classes of literature. On the whole, Mr. Chambers is inclined to agree with the view that 'before 1586 the provisions of 'the *Injunctions* for licensing by the High Commission for 'London was not ordinarily operative, and that as a rule the 'only actual licences issued were those of the Stationers' 'Company, who used their own discretion' as to what should be referred to higher authority. As regards the part played

by James Roberts in the attempts of whose who owned them to protect Shakespeare's plays from piracy, while admitting that 'the evidence against [Roberts] has been exaggerated, 'and that the privilege which he held for printing all play-'bills for actors makes it prima facie unlikely that his relations 'with the companies would be irregular', Mr. Chambers yet hesitates to accept the 'counter-theory' that Roberts in his four 'conditional' entries was acting in the interests of the players to make the task of the pirates more difficult. It seems to me that the high proportion of these entries made by Roberts can hardly have been accidental and that if he was not himself at least a 'would-be' pirate he must have been an agent, serving his own interests no doubt in trying to secure the ultimate right of printing the plays, but serving those of the players by entering them under a condition calculated to prevent either himself or any one else printing the plays prematurely. A passage on Mr. Chambers's next page comes very near, however, to my own view, and in any case in this context to argue the matter more fully would be out of proportion. For the same reason I cannot fully set forth the objections raised in my mind by Mr. Chambers's interpretation of a mention of 'one Talbot, servant of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a corrector to the printers' in an examination by members of the Privy Council into the Ridolfi plot. Mr. Chambers quotes this as proving that the Archbishop had enough licensing work to do in 1571 'to justify the appointment of a regular deputy'. I am more inclined to regard this 'one Taylor' as an inferior member of the Archbishop's household who added to his income by helping the printer-publishers to keep out of trouble. Here and there, all along the line, students will probably be eager to argue with Mr. Chambers as well as praise him. How should it be otherwise in a work full of minute details open to different interpretations? But his book stands to other treatises on the

Elizabethan stage as the *Dictionary of National Biography* stands to other biographical dictionaries, or the *Oxford English Dictionary* to other English dictionaries, and at this moment that is the one important thing which has to be said.

A. W. POLLARD.

Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys. Part III. Mediaeval Manuscripts. By Dr. M. R. JAMES, Provost of Eton: sometime Provost of King's College. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., MCMXXIII.

THERE are obvious advantages in issuing in separate parts the Catalogue of so varied a library as that of Samuel Pepys, as each part, in addition to being described by the person best qualified for the task, is available by itself to students not necessarily interested in the other branches of the collection. This section of the Catalogue, for which Dr. M. R. James is responsible, contains in his own words 'an account of the medieval manuscripts and some others of literary interest', which amount in all to a total of fifty-one volumes. Of this number only thirty-five are medieval, that is to say, earlier than the sixteenth century, the remainder, which date from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, being included for various reasons, sometimes 'by request or because they happened to interest' the compiler. The order in which the manuscripts are described is that of their places on the shelves, and it is perhaps enough to say that the method of description is that with which Dr. James's monumental series of Cambridge and other catalogues has made us familiar. Pepys's tastes as a collector of medieval manuscripts differed in many respects from those of other book collectors. As Dr. James points out in his interesting introduction, 'the ordinary ingredients 'of a collection of manuscripts are not to be found here. 'Not a single Latin Bible, Psalter, Missal, or Breviary did 'Pepys acquire. There is but one book of Hours—but that

'is interesting from the number of commemorations of 'Scottish saints which it contains (1576). One patristic 'manuscript—Isidore (2808)—and that not theological; no 'Scholastic Divinity, no Canon or Civil Law. The Medical 'books are English. Science does contribute two, both of 'some interest, the volume of mathematical treatises (2329) 'obtained by Dr. Dee (quite honestly) from Peterhouse, and 'the Bacon (1207) which was also Dee's. Alchemy (1295) 'follows at the heels of Science, and Magic (1530) on the heels 'of Alchemy.' The historical books are 'a motley array: some belong to more than one category'. One of these (no. 2314) is practically the only manuscript in the collection with a monastic provenance, being almost certainly from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Dr. James comments in a foot-note on the uselessness of expecting any information from Pepys's papers as to where and whence he obtained his manuscripts other than naval. The Kalendar (no. 1662), written at Durham, was probably executed for a layman. The most famous manuscripts in the collection are those containing English prose and poetry; the English religious poems in these volumes have been included by Professor Carleton Brown in his *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, published by the Bibliographical Society, to which references are duly given in the catalogue. Two more volumes must be specially mentioned. The first (no. 2981) is a scrap-book containing fragments of manuscripts, some of very early date, and is of the greatest interest, whatever one may think of the methods by which two at least of the specimens were obtained. These (sub-numbers 18, 19) are fragments, each of a few lines only, from the two eighth-century Gospels at Durham (MSS. A. II. 16 and 17), and Pepys has blandly noted against them 'Memdum—That these 2 were a Present to me, from my most hon^{d} & reverend Friends, the Dean & Chapter of Durham, An^{o} Dom^{ni} 1700'. Those who, like the present

writer, have seen the mutilated leaves at Durham have different epithets for the donors of these fragments, but no doubt Mr. Pepys was a persuasive person, and deserves his full share of the blame. The same scrap-book contains several other fragments of equally early date, notably a whole leaf of a so-far unidentified Gospel book, written in England in the middle or end of the eighth century, while amongst some later items in the volume is (p. 19) 'An original Copy-Book of about the year 1400 in use among the Librarii or Book-Writers before the coming-in of Printing', which Dr. James notes as 'not impossibly unique'. It consists of five vellum leaves stitched together, and contains various alphabets in addition to a large monogram 'Ihc'. A reproduction of these five leaves is very desirable, and it is much to be hoped that they will be included in the illustrations to the complete catalogue which are promised as a separate part. The other volume to be noted is a medieval sketch-book (no. 1916) of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, containing a collection of studies by an English artist of the period. Dr. James gives a detailed list of the drawings, which he considers were 'intended for use both in paintings on a large scale (whether 'wall-paintings or easel-pictures) and also in illustrating books 'and in embroidery'. The studies of birds, several of which have their names attached, he notes as specially appropriate for the last two purposes, in view of the fondness of English artists for bird-life, as shown in English fourteenth-century vestments and in such manuscripts as the Sherborne Missal in the library of the Duke of Northumberland, where many of the birds also have their names. 'The studies of apostles, 'prophets, ecclesiastics, and saints are such as would be 'constantly needed by an artist engaged in the decoration of 'churches or the illuminating of books: the grotesques, as 'is well-known, are most commonly to be found in the 'marginal decorations of manuscripts'; Dr. James has as

yet been unable to determine the meaning of others of the figure-studies, but thinks that the interpretation will come 'in time', a matter on which one may be less sanguine, unless the interpretation be supplied at a later date by Dr. James himself. The rarity of this class of book need not be emphasized, and Dr. James believes this to be the only English specimen in existence; it would, as he says, amply repay a special monograph. With this Catalogue Dr. James completes his descriptions of the manuscripts in the Cambridge collections. Is it permissible to hope that he may now turn his attention to Oxford, which, as he perhaps knows, is within a comfortable distance from Eton? ERIC G. MILLAR.

The Subject-Index to Periodicals, 1920. Issued by the Library Association. I. Language and Literature. Part 2. Modern European. Grafton & Co., September 1923. pp. 102. 5*s*.

THIS new instalment is as good as its predecessors, even better, indeed, since it includes entries from 1915 to 1920 for four additional American periodicals and two German ones, all of importance. There is already enough of the Subject-Index for it to be no exaggeration to say that (more especially in English studies where so much is being done) any specialist who starts to write a book or article without consulting it courts the disaster of betraying ignorance of discoveries of which he ought to have known. Armed with the latest instalment, the happy man possessed of a little leisure can go to any great library and make up all the deficiency in a year's reading of the 'periodical' literature of his subject in a few pleasant hours. It is a pity that the latest instalment is about two years later than could be wished, but with more support the venture would be closer up to date. The two entries under Chaucer's *Prologue* fall below standard, the first being obscure, while the second, on 'His purchas was wel bettre

than his rente', misprints 'rente' as 'vente'. But as against these we could make a long list of entries which in the compact information they offer go far beyond what has hitherto been demanded of an index. Since space is valuable, we may note that by giving cross-references from major entries, under which there are no titles, to minor ones, on a separate line beginning *See also*, the word *also* and the new line are both wasted.

The Poems English and Latin of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Edited by G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923. pp. xxxii [+viii], 169 [+3]. 12*s.* 6*d.*

In this handsome edition Professor Moore Smith has improved on his predecessor, Mr. Churton Collins, not only by reprinting the *ed. pr.* of 1665 more faithfully, but by collating it with extant manuscripts. Of these the most important are Add. 37157 at the British Museum and Rawlinson Poet. 31 at the Bodleian. Thus Herbert's fourth poem, *A Description*, begins in the 1665 text:

> I Sing her worth and praises, Ey,
> Of whom a Poet cannot ly,

and the Rawlinson reading 'prayses highe' renders it certain that Herbert wrote 'hy', the 1665 misprint being 'due to a misreading of the old written "H" which resembled the later "E"'. Professor Moore Smith instances a dozen or more misprints or mistakes in the first edition which the manuscripts correct; on the whole, however, he is clear that the printed book of 1665 is based on a manuscript which represented Herbert's second thoughts and should therefore be preferred even to the two here specified, save in the case of readings which collation discloses as obvious blunders. The editor's textual notes, though printed after the text, are kept separate from the commentary, and extend to spelling and punctuation.

Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century. Edited by CARLETON BROWN. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924. pp. xxii [+ii], 358 [+2]. 10*s.* 6*d.*

PROFESSOR CARLETON BROWN'S selection of fourteenth-century religious lyrics deserves a welcome here as another outcome of the unwearying work that led also to the compilation of the *Register of Middle-English Religious and Didactic Verse* which the Bibliographical Society had the honour of printing for him in 1916–20. The present collection is to be followed by earlier and later ones representing the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, so that the three volumes will bring together all that the editor thinks best worth putting into print, either because it has not been printed before, or because it has been printed badly or from inferior texts, or, 'above all', with the object of illustrating the development of the English lyric. Save for the expansion of contractions and editorial punctuation the poems are here printed as they stand in the manuscripts and (despite the help offered by a very full glossary) in this form they can only appeal to students. But the anthologists will no doubt find them out, and in the meantime students, whose aesthetic tastes in book-building are not often considered, will have the pleasure of possessing them in a very prettily printed edition.

Mediaeval England. A new edition of Barnard's *Companion to English History.* Edited by H. W. C. DAVIS. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924. pp. xxi, 632. 21*s.*

THE original edition of this companion to medieval English history, brought out under the direction of Dr. Pierrepont Barnard in 1902, was an excellent book in its day and had the advantage of not needing so tall a shelf to stand on, but even affection must own that the new is better. It has more illustrations and larger illustration, and while the whole work has been revised and brought up to date several chapters

and sections have been written anew. Among these are the sections on Handwriting and Printed Books, which in 1902 were included in a chapter of twenty-six pages in which Mr. R. S. Rait had to tell what he could of Learning and Education. Handwriting is now dealt with by Mr. Madan, and Printed Books, the Book-Trade, and Libraries by Mr. Strickland Gibson, and both writers may be congratulated on the amount of orderly information which they pack into a still severely restricted space. Mr. Gibson ends one of his sections: 'From 1535 the book-trade in England rapidly 'declined and did not permanently revive until the reign of 'Elizabeth.' A detailed exposition of this assertion would make a very interesting article, if Mr. Gibson could be persuaded to write it. It is perhaps founded on one of the few remarks by Mr. Gordon Duff from which we strenuously disagree.

The Fleuron: A Journal of Typography. Edited by Oliver Simon. No. 2. Office of the Fleuron, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, 1924. pp. [viii], 114. 21*s.*

First numbers of periodicals are seldom very good. Their designers are over-anxious, and the contributors do not always understand exactly what the designers want. The first number of *The Fleuron* was welcomed in *The Library* with hopeful sympathy, but this second instalment is much better. All the articles are excellent, and between them they make a notable contribution to the cause of good printing. Mr. Updike's paper 'On the Planning of Printing' is a little masterpiece of humanity, practical wisdom, and good taste. M. Pierre Gusman writes with charming enthusiasm on the publications of Édouard Pelletan; his article is followed by a 'catalogue sommaire' and illustrated with some interesting title-pages, &c. In 'Towards an Ideal Type' Mr. Stanley Morison argues

with learning and conviction that Johann and Wendelin of Speier and Nicolas Jenson set a bad fashion in making their majuscules as tall as the minuscule ascenders. The earlier firm's majuscules are too large altogether, and even Jenson's are on the large side; but if the height of the majuscules be reduced, should not the ascenders be reduced also? Other interesting articles are by Mr. B. H. Newdigate on the Ashendene Press (with a bibliography), on some attractive books of the first quarter of the last century by Mr. Holbrook Jackson, and on 'Decorated Papers' by Mr. Ingpen. If *The Fleuron* can keep up to this level it should do well.

A. W. POLLARD.

ANNUAL REPORT

DURING the past year the Bibliographical Society has lost by death one of the most beloved of its members, Francis Jenkinson, Librarian of the University of Cambridge and our President in 1901 and 1902, Mr. James Foster, Professor W. P. Ker, the Earl of Plymouth, and Dr. A. H. Robinson; also, since the New Year, Mr. Charles Welch, for many years Librarian of the Guildhall Library, one of our original members, who served for many years on our Council and read to us several excellent papers.

Mr. Jenkinson's list of the fifteenth-century books collected by our late member, Mr. George Dunn, was obtained from him for publication shortly before his death and appeared in December enriched with a little character-sketch by the Rev. H. F. Stewart, D.D., who very kindly allowed it to be reprinted from the *Cambridge Review*. A little before this there had appeared, after many difficulties and delays, Sir William Osler's long promised *Incunabula Medica*, with a prefatory note on his services to the Society; and still earlier in the year (issued for 1922) Mr. Buxton Forman's *Bibliography of Meredith*. Thanks to an increase of income under almost every heading on the receipt side of our accounts, the Society has been able to pay for all these and increase the size of *The Library*, and at the same time to add to the Reserve Fund which it has been accumulating to defray the exceptional cost of the publications it is hoped to produce during the next few years. The first of these, *A Short-Title Catalogue of English Books*, 1474–1640, compiled by Mr. Pollard and Mr. Redgrave with the help of many members of the Society (among others of Miss Fegan, Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Captain Jaggard, Mr. Stephen Jones, Mr. Plomer, Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Stocks, and notably that of Mr. G. F.

Barwick in the preparation for printing), should be in members' hands some time before Christmas. It should be followed next year by Dr. McKerrow's monograph on *English Borders*, and by the first volume of Dr. Greg's full-dress bibliography of English Plays written before the closing of the theatres in 1642. All these books will be large and expensive to produce, and it has therefore been necessary to save up for them. As smaller publications it is proposed to print shortly as a 'Supplement to the Transactions', *A Bibliography of English Character Books, 1608–1700*, by Miss Murphy, also an Illustrated Monograph by Mr. C. Thomas Stanford on *Early Editions of Euclid*.

In June of last year an interesting exhibition of British and Foreign books printed during the present century was held in the rooms of the Medici Society in Grafton Street. The Bibliographical Society has done, at any rate directly, much less than it should to encourage good printing, and the Council have now arranged with the Directors of the Medici Society to take the main responsibility for organizing a small exhibition of books printed in the British Empire and the United States of America during the year 1923. The Exhibition will be held in the Medici Society's rooms in June, and invitations will be issued to leading publishers to show a book in each of five or six different classes, with brief notes as to any special aim they may have had in designing it, or any special difficulties which had to be overcome. If this little Anglo-American Exhibition wins a success, it may be possible to make it an annual one, and to do something for the improvement of book-building over rather a wider field than has hitherto been attempted.

On entering this field the Council has thought it only fitting to recognize the admirable work which has already been done in it for more than thirty years by Mr. Emery Walker, by asking him to accept the only distinction the Society has to offer, its honorary membership.

BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1923.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
British Entrance Fees	17	17	0
British Subs., 1918–22	21	18	0
„ 1923	554	8	6
„ 1924	8	8	0
Interest on Deposit and Investments	14	8	6
Sale of Publications to Members	163	1	5
Foreign Subs., 1922	4	4	0
„ 1923	35	14	0
„ 1924	2	2	0
U.S.A. Subs., 1920–2	5	5	0
„ 1923	260	5	4
Cheque recredited	4	16	0
Balance, 1 January 1923 (£436 4*s.* 2*d.*)+£100 on Deposit	536	4	2
	£1,628	11	11

Payments.	£	s.	d.
Printing, Paper, Casing, and Distribution, less proceeds of Sales of and Advertisements in *The Library*	855	8	8
Rent	17	6	6
Expenses of Meetings	8	6	8
Income Tax	1	5	0
Bank Charges		11	4
Petty Cash	7	15	0
Secretarial Expenses	3	6	0
Subscription returned	1	1	0
Research	22	15	0
Expenses of Society's Library	1	7	9
Cheque uncleared in 1922	1	13	4
Cheque returned (insufficiently endorsed)	4	16	0
Typing		10	6
Balance at Bank 31 Dec. 1923 (£402 9*s.* 2*d.*)+£300 on Deposit	702	9	2
	£1,628	11	11

R. FARQUHARSON SHARP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with vouchers and found correct,

JAMES P. R. LYELL.

5 January 1924.

Assets.	£	s.	d.
£300 2½% Consols @ 55⅝	166	10	0
£100 3½% New South Wales Bond (1930–50)	75	0	0
£100 5% Treasury Bond	101	0	0
Estimated value of Stock of Publications	800	0	0
Balance of Account for 1922	702	9	2

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
Estimated Liability for 30 Life Members	330	0	0
Subscriptions received in advance	10	10	0
Cost of completing and sending out books for 1923 since paid	144	2	6

NOTICES

THE Annual Meeting of the Society for the reception of the Balance Sheet and the Council's Report, and the election of officers and members of Council will be held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday, 17 March, immediately after the ordinary Monthly Meeting.

Sir Frederic George Kenyon, K.C.B., F.B.A., Director of the British Museum, has been nominated by the Council for election as President for the ensuing session, and Sir D'Arcy Power, K.B.E., F.R.C.S., as a Vice-President. The other officers of the Society offer themselves for re-election. The following will be proposed as members of Council: Messrs. R. A. Austen Leigh, R. W. Chapman, E. Marion Cox, Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, M. R. James, C. W. Dyson Perrins, A. W. Reed, Frank Sidgwick, Henry Thomas.

At the Monthly Meeting on Monday, 17 March, at 5 p.m., Mr. Victor Scholderer will read a paper on *Printing at Venice in the Fifteenth Century*.

A case for binding Vol. IV of *The Library* will be sent free of charge to all members of the Society, whose subscription has been paid, with the June number. Members who, before 1 June, send their copies of the four numbers with a postal order for 2*s.* 5*d.* to the Controller, University Press, Oxford, will receive them back, post free, cased. Members who have not sent their copies for casing in previous years, by sending them now can have Vols. I–IV cased and returned for 8*s.*, Vols. II–IV for 6*s.* 3*d.*, Vols. III and IV for 4*s.* 6*d.*

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(By Ethel Fegan)